

REPORT

OF THE

DELEGATES OF INDIA

TO THE

THIRD SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1922



DELHI

GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA

1923

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REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF INDIA TO THE THIRD ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1922).

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT PEEL, G.B.E., HIS
MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

MY LORD,

We beg to submit our report on the proceedings of the Third Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, at which we had the honour to represent India.

2. At the outset, we think it fitting to make some reference to the question of India's claim to be admitted as one of the Eight States of Chief Industrial Importance, entitled to representation on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office under Article 393 of the Treaty of Versailles, as this question, though not one with which the Assembly was concerned this year, was under consideration by the Council during the period of our stay at Geneva, and was in fact the question with which we had to deal in which Indian interests were affected most directly and to the greatest extent. The Indian claim to be one of the eight States of chief industrial importance had, it is hardly necessary to recall, been *sub judice* for a considerable time past. It so happened that the Council of the League, having received the report of a Committee, presided over by M. A. Fontaine, appointed by them to advise on the criteria to be adopted in deciding this question, were about to resume consideration of the matter when we arrived at Geneva, and the first Indian delegate was commissioned by you to state the Indian claim before the Council. A memorandum was drawn up and submitted by the Indian Delegation jointly criticising the report of the Committee, and Lord Chelmsford further obtained permission to explain the Indian case before the Council in person. A verbatim report of his speech will be found in Appendix V. The Council also decided to hear the Polish and Swiss representatives (M. Askenazy and M. Motta respectively). Neither made much attempt to prove the industrial importance of the country which they represented by statistics, relying mainly on political arguments; the Polish representative stressed the agricultural importance of Poland and M. Motta urged that the Council might postpone a decision in the matter on the chance of the forthcoming Labour Conference recommending the amendment of the provisions of the Treaty regarding the composition of the Governing Body. We are glad to be able to state that, on the 30th September, the day on which the Assembly broke up, the Council finally reached a decision in favour of India, thus at last according long delayed recognition of her right to a place among the great industrial nations of the world. The text of the Council's decision is as follows:—

“Considering that the claims made to it by India and Poland, and the objections made by various other countries in regard to the list of the eight Members of the International Labour Organisation of chief industrial importance which was prepared by the Organising Committee of the first general Conference of the International Labour Organisation and employed for the constitution of the Governing Body of the Labour Office in 1919, have raised a general question as to which are the eight Members of chief industrial importance,

“And considering that by the fourth paragraph of Article 393 of the Treaty of Versailles and the corresponding Articles of the other Treaties of Peace, this question is to be decided by the Council,

“Decides that the eight Members of the International Labour Organisation which are of the chief industrial importance are at present, in the alphabetical order of the names in French: Germany, Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, India, Italy and Japan.

“In accordance with the principle of the resolution adopted by the Council at San Sebastian on 5th August 1920, the present decision is given for the purpose of the reconstitution of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, which is to be effected by the Fourth General Conference of the International Labour Organisation; and the decision is not intended to effect the composition of the Governing Body as constituted by the First Conference.”

3. The proceedings of the Assembly were opened on the 4th September by M. da Gama (Brazil), the Acting President of the Council, and the Assembly

proceeded at once to the election of a President. M. Edwards (Chili) was elected, obtaining 42 votes out of 44. M. Edwards proved himself throughout to be a most capable President. There were 47 States, including Hungary, represented at the Assembly this year, no representatives appearing from Argentine, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador and Peru. As explained in para. 72 below, Hungary was admitted on the 18th September. A list of the representatives of each State will be found in Appendix I.

4. During the first week the proceedings in the Assembly were limited to purely formal business and to the general debate on the report of the work of the Council and Secretary-General for the past year. His Highness the Jam Sahab of Nawanagar was a member of the Committee appointed to examine the credentials of delegates, and he was also chosen to assist in the conduct of the election in the Assembly of the Chairman of the Fourth Committee.

5. The President suggested that, in discussing the report of the Council, it might be taken section by section, but there was some opposition to this proposal and the debate therefore, as in past years, took the form of general speeches ranging over the whole field of the League's activities. The President's suggestion was referred to the General Committee (*see* Article 7 of the Rules of Procedure), and at the last meeting of the Assembly that Committee circulated a recommendation that, if possible, the President should arrange beforehand with delegates wishing to speak on the report, so as to ensure that a general debate should take place first, followed by discussion on certain specific subjects in the report. Whether it will be possible to give effect to this suggestion is doubtful. In any case no decision was taken on the point, and therefore the Fourth Assembly will be in no way bound as to the procedure to be followed next year.

No points were raised in the general debate on the report in which Indian interests were specially concerned, and we do not think it necessary to attempt to summarise the course of the debate. The most striking speeches were those by Lord Robert Cecil (South Africa), M. Motta (Switzerland), Lord Balfour (British Empire), M. Hymans (Belgium) and M. Hanotaux (France); the two former taking the general line that all the big problems affecting the tranquillity of the world, such as reparations, should be referred for the consideration of the League, and the three latter putting with great force the view that the power of the League must advance by slow continuous growth and that it was impossible for it in its infancy to grapple with problems with which it was not yet strong enough to deal. Some advance in the direction of the submission of great problems to the League is marked by the subsequent course of proceedings in Committee and Assembly, culminating in the Resolutions regarding the Mutual Guarantee Treaty and the possibility of the problem of Reparations and inter-allied debts being at some time referred to the League, the Resolution regarding the Near East and the Council's work in connection with the Austrian problem (*see* paras. 49, 50 and 54 below).

6. Following the precedents of former years the Assembly appointed six Committees, as shown below, each Member of the League being free to appoint one representative on each Committee. It will probably be convenient, in giving an account of the proceedings on each question, to follow the grouping adopted in the assignment of work to the Committees.

All the proceedings of the Committees (though not of all the Sub-Committees) were in public, though the right to hold private sittings was maintained by taking a formal decision at the first meeting of each Committee to meet in public.

COMMITTEE No. I.

Constitutional and Judicial Questions.

Chairman: M. Scialoja (Italy); *Vice-Chairman*: M. de Peralta (Costa Rica);
Representative of India: Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer.

Subjects dealt with by Committee:—

Amendment to Article 10 of the Covenant.

Amendment to Article 18 of the Covenant.

Procedure of Conciliation (Articles 12 and 15 of the Covenant).

The Allocation of the Expenditure of the League.

Contribution of Salvador to the Expenses of the League.

Indemnities payable to Judges and technical assessors of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

* Increase in the number of non-permanent Members of the Council.

* Selection of the non-permanent Members of the Council. (Chinese proposal.)

* Article 1 of Rules of Procedure (Date of meeting of Assembly).

* Article 14 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly.

* Articles 4 and 7 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly.

* Ratification of Amendments to the Covenant.

COMMITTEE NO. II.

The Work of the Technical Organisations of the League.

Chairman : M. Chodzko (Poland); *Vice-Chairman* : M. de Brouckere (Belgium); *Representative of India* : H. H. the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar.

Subjects dealt with by Committee :—

The Provisional Economic and Financial Committees.

The Advisory and Technical Committee on Communications and Transit.

The Health Organisation of the League, including the work of the Epidemic Commission.

Intellectual Co-operation.

† The Pan-American Congress.

COMMITTEE NO. III.

Reduction of Armaments.

Chairman : M. Cosme de la Torriente y Peraza (Cuba); *Vice-Chairman* : M. Holsti (Finland); *Representative of India* : Viscount Chelmsford.

Subject dealt with by the Committee :—

Reduction of Armaments.

COMMITTEE NO. IV.

Budget and Financial Questions.

Chairman : M. Zahle (Denmark); *Vice-Chairman* : Jonkheer van Eysinga (Netherlands); *Representative of India* : H. H. the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar.

Subjects dealt with by the Committee :—

Budget for 1923, including the Budget of the International Labour Organisation.

Audit of Accounts for the third fiscal period (1921).

Report of the Commission of Control (now called the Supervisory Committee).

Final Resolution on the Financial Administration of the League.

Expenses of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

† International Labour Office : Offer of Sites from the Swiss Government.

* Items referred to the Committee during the proceedings of the Assembly.

† New items placed on the Agenda and referred to the Committee during the proceedings of the Assembly.

COMMITTEE No. V.

Social and General Questions.

Chairman : The Hon. William S. Fielding (Canada); *Vice-Chairman* : Mlle. Bonnevie (Norway); *Representative of India* : Viscount Chelmsford.

Subjects dealt with by Committee :—

Esperanto as an International Language.

Traffic in Opium.

Deportation of Women and Children in Turkey and adjacent countries.

Traffic in Women and Children.

Russian Refugees.

Trade in obscene Publications.

* Greek and Armenian Refugees from Asia Minor.

* Repatriation of Prisoners of War.

COMMITTEE No. VI.

Political Questions.

Chairman : Jonkheer H. Loudon (Netherlands); *Vice-Chairman* : M. da Gama (Brazil); *Representative of India* : Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer.

Subjects dealt with by Committee :—

Request for admission to the League by Hungary.

* Protection of Minorities.

* Mandates.

* Slavery in Africa.

* Bondelzwart Rebellion (South Africa).

* Position in the Near East.

* Protest of the Lithuanian Government against arbitrary acts committed by the Polish Government in connection with the territory of Vilna subsequent to the recommendation of the Council, dated 13th January 1922.

* National Home for Armenians.

* Georgia.

* Status of Eastern Galicia.

7. In addition of these six Main Committees, there were also a General Committee (*vide* Article 7 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly—Appendix II., Annex I.) and an Agenda Committee.

The Agenda Committee, by direction of the Assembly, considered and reported on the advisability of placing upon the agenda various proposals submitted to the Assembly during its session and on the retention on the agenda of a new question submitted by the Lithuanian Government, against which the Polish Delegation protested.

The Committee reported in favour of the inclusion of all the new questions, including the Lithuanian question, and their recommendations were adopted by the Assembly, the questions being referred to the appropriate Committees. These questions are indicated by an asterisk in the list above.

* New items placed on the agenda and referred to the Committee during the proceedings of the Assembly.

Work of Committee No. 1.—Constitutional and Judicial Questions.

AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLE 10 OF THE COVENANT.

8. It will be remembered that at the First Assembly the Canadian Delegation had proposed that Article 10 of the Covenant* should be removed,

Art. 10.—The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

and that both in the First and Second Assembly wide differences of opinion showed themselves, both as to the precise meaning of this Article and as to its value. The question had been left over

for further consideration by the Third Assembly. The Committee on Amendments reported to the Third Assembly that no new facts had emerged with reference to this Article since its consideration last year. The Canadian Delegation considerably modified the attitude which they had adopted in previous years, recognising that it was impossible to secure the withdrawal of this Article, and contended themselves with proposing that an addition should be made to the end of the Article of the following words:—

“Taking into account the political and geographical circumstances of each State,”

with a further additional paragraph:—

“The opinion given by the Council in such cases shall be regarded as a matter of the highest importance, and shall be taken into consideration by all Members of the League, who shall use their utmost endeavours to conform to the conclusions of the Council, but no member shall be under an obligation to engage in any act of war without the consent of its Parliament, Legislature, or other representative body.”

As in previous years, there was considerable divergence of views on this question.

Mr. Struycken (Netherlands) claimed that the situation had been materially altered by the fact that the Third Committee were now examining a plan for a mutual guarantee treaty in connection with disarmament, which obviously was closely related to the question of Article 10 of the Covenant. M. Rolin (Belgium) actually suggested that the question of the revision of Article 10 should be studied by the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments. Sir Cecil Hurst (British Empire) opposed this suggestion. France, Roumania, Greece, Poland and Persia expressed themselves strongly in favour of the retention of Article 10. Most seem to desire it to remain unmodified, but there was no very strong opposition to and some agreement with a new Canadian proposals.

The divergence of views was sufficiently wide for it to become apparent that the question must again stand over for another year, and the Committee finally adopted a Resolution proposed by Sir Cecil Hurst, which was in due course approved by the Assembly, and is shown below. The words “in all its bearings” in this Resolution were intended to satisfy those who considered that the question was intimately linked with that of the proposed Mutual Guarantee Treaty. The view was put forward in the Assembly by M. Barthélémy (France) that amendment of this Article of the Treaty, to which it was known very grave exception had been taken in the United States, might well be left until there were some signs of the United States being willing to join the League. Such modifications could then be made as would be likely to meet American opinion on this subject. The Canadian Delegation explained, however, that they were actuated by other motives in wishing to obtain amendment of this Article, as they considered it undesirable to retain in the Covenant an Article on the meaning of which nobody could agree, and which apparently might commit a country to war without the

consent of its Parliament. The text of the Resolution passed by the Assembly is as follows :—

"The Assembly of the League of Nations decides that the Canadian proposal with reference to Article 10 of the Covenant shall be adjourned until the Fourth Assembly, in order that the subject may be considered in all its bearings. The Assembly leave it to the Council to decide on the steps to be taken to provide for a detailed study of the Canadian proposal before the meeting of the Fourth Assembly."

AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE 18 OF THE COVENANT.

9. As was the case last year, considerable divergence of views was expressed on this subject. Some members thought that, as it was clear that the provisions of Article 18 (requiring registration and publication of all international treaties before they become binding) were not being, and could not be, literally carried out, and as suggested modifications had already been drawn up at the last Assembly with a view to defining in a more practical manner the obligations under this section, action should now be taken to amend the Article. On the other side the view was expressed that it was not possible, at all events at present, to give any practical definition of what ought, or ought not, to be registered, that the number of treaties which were being registered with the Secretariat were showing signs of distinct increase, and that it would be far better to wait until there had been time for further practical experience to be gained on this subject. The Committee finally adopted the Resolution given below, which was approved by the Assembly without discussion :—

"Considering that, according to the information furnished by the Secretariat, the practice of presenting for registration and publication treaties and international engagements is becoming more and more familiar to the Governments of Members of the League, and desiring to profit by experience gained over a longer period before reopening the discussion of a possible amendment of Article 18 of the Covenant, decides to postpone such a discussion to a future session of the Assembly."

PROCEDURE OF CONCILIATION.

10. In accordance with the recommendation of the Second Assembly, the Council had appointed a special Committee to investigate the question of drawing up an outline scheme for a procedure of conciliation which might form a model for States which were prepared to agree to adopt some such procedure in settling disputes between themselves. The Committee consisted of M. Adatei (Japan), M. Babinski (Poland), M. de Visscher (Belgium), M. Fortoul (Venezuela), M. Struycken (Netherlands), and M. Unden (Sweden). The recommendations of this Committee formed the basis of the Resolution below, adopted by the Third Assembly. Essential features of their proposals are that there should be no obligation on States to form Conciliation Commissions, the whole system being optional, and that no amendment of the Covenant is required. The First Committee, working through a sub-Committee, made various small alterations in points of detail in the proposals of M. Adatei's Committee, but the only changes of importance were to alter the form of the Resolution so as to make it plain (i) that the procedure which was suggested for adoption involved special conventions between particular States, and not, at all events at present, a general treaty open to adhesion by any States who wished to do so; and (ii) that any such convention cannot in any case impede the operation of Article 15 of the Covenant. The following Resolution was finally adopted by the Assembly with very little discussion :—

PREAMBLE.

With a view to promoting the development of the procedure of conciliation in the case of international disputes, in accordance with the spirit of the Covenant, the Assembly recommends the Members of the League, subject to the rights and obligations mentioned in Article 15 of the Covenant, to conclude conventions with the object of laying their disputes before Conciliation Commissions formed by themselves.

The organisation of these Commissions, their competence and the procedure to be followed before them, shall be freely determined by the Contracting Parties. The Parties are recommended

in this connection to look for guidance to the provisions contained in the Hague Convention of the 18th October 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes, and, in particular, to the provisions concerning the hearing of witnesses, procedure by employment of experts, rogatory commissions, inspection of places, replacement of members of the Commission.

The rules laid down in the following Articles, in particular, are recommended to the Members of the League for adoption. At the request of the Members concerned, the Secretary-General may offer them the assistance of the Secretariat for the conclusion of conciliation conventions.

Apart from the other means placed at its disposal by the Covenant to assure the maintenance of peace, the Council may, if necessary, have recourse to the service of the Conciliation Commission formed by the Parties; it may invite them to bring their dispute before the Commission, or it may refer to the Commission any dispute which may have been submitted to it by one of the Parties in virtue of Article 15 of the Covenant.

A conciliation convention made between two States of which one only is a Member of the League of Nations, or of which neither is a Member of the League, will be applicable subject to the procedure established by Article 17 of the Covenant.

The Assembly expresses the hope that the competence of Conciliation Commissions will extend to the greatest possible number of disputes, and that the practical application of particular Conventions between States, as recommended in the present resolution, will in the near future make possible the establishment of a general Convention open to the adhesion of all States.

RULES.

Article 1.

The Conciliation Commission shall be constituted as follows:—

Each party shall appoint two members, one from among its own nationals, the other from among the nationals of a third State. The two parties shall jointly appoint the Chairman of the Commission from among the nationals of a third State.

The Parties may appoint the members of the Commission beforehand and for a period which they themselves shall determine. They may also confine themselves to appointing only the Chairman beforehand, in which case the other members shall be appointed after consultation with the Chairman at the moment when a dispute arises, their mandate being limited to the settlement of such dispute.

Article 2.

Disputes which fall within the competence of the Conciliation Commission shall be referred to it for consideration by means of a notification made by one of the Contracting Parties to the Chairman of the Commission and to the other Party. The notification shall be communicated to the Secretary-General of the League.

If all the members of the Commission have been appointed beforehand, the Chairman shall convene the Commission as soon as possible. If they have not been so appointed, the Chairman shall invite the Parties to appoint the other members within a period laid down by the Convention.

Article 3.

The Conciliation Commission shall meet at the seat of the League, unless the Parties have fixed a different place of meeting in the Convention made by them or for the purposes of a particular case. The Commission, if it considers it necessary, may meet at a different place. The Commission may in all circumstances ask the Secretary-General to render it assistance in its work.

Article 4.

Subject to the right of the Parties and of the Commission itself to extend this period, the Conciliation Commission shall complete its work within a period of six months from the day on which it first met.

Article 5.

Both parties shall be heard by the Commission.

The parties shall furnish the Commission with all the information which may be useful for the enquiry and the drawing up of the report, and shall in every respect assist it in the accomplishment of its task.

The Commission shall itself regulate all details of procedure not provided for in the Convention, and establish rules of procedure for the obtaining of evidence.

Article 6.

The Commission shall take its decisions by a majority vote of its members; the presence of all the members is required for a valid decision. Each member shall have one vote.

Article 7.

The Commission shall make a report on each dispute submitted to it. In proper cases the report shall include a proposal for the settlement of the dispute. The reasoned opinion of the members who are in the minority shall be recorded in the report.

The Chairman of the Commission shall immediately bring the report to the knowledge of the Parties and of the Secretary-General of the League.

Article 8.

The report of the Conciliation Commission may be published by one of the Parties before the settlement of the dispute only if the other Party gives its consent.

The Commission may, by unanimous vote, decree the immediate publication of its report.

Article 9.

Each Party shall pay the allowances of the members of the Commission which it has appointed and shall pay half of the allowances of the Chairman.

Each Party shall bear the costs of procedure which it has incurred and half of those which the Commission may declare to be joint costs.

ALLOCATION OF THE EXPENDITURE OF THE LEAGUE.

11. It was decided when the agenda was being adopted by the Assembly that this question should be referred to the First Committee, and that the First Committee should consult the Fourth Committee when it was necessary to do so. The vagueness of this decision gave rise to considerable doubts as to the relative functions of the First and Fourth Committees, and was productive of great inconvenience. The proposals submitted for consideration this year were those in the Second Reveillaud Committee Report dated 13th July 1922. They differed from the scale adopted last year in that deductions had been made from eight countries which possessed territories devastated by the war, 15 countries had had their units increased on various grounds not stated (four getting some offset by reason of a devastation deduction), and 14 small States had had their units decreased, 10 being placed in a lowest class of one unit, two units being previously the minimum; 18 States (including India) remained unchanged. The total number of units (942) also remained unchanged. Effective criticism was rendered more difficult as the Report gave practically no reasons for these recommendations.

12. In view of the very grave objections from the Indian point of view to the fundamental basis of the Reveillaud scale of allocation, which apply with equal force to the modified Reveillaud scale, and as India appeared unlikely to obtain any effective support in her objections to this basis, it seemed desirable to start, at all events by adopting an attitude of uncompromising opposition. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer accordingly immediately raised a point of order when discussion of the question was opened in the First Committee, and contended that under Rule 4 (5) of the Rules of Procedure adopted by last year's Assembly [*vide* Annex (i) of Appendix II.], it was not competent for this Assembly to consider the latest report of the Reveillaud Committee, which had not been circulated four months before the meeting of the Assembly. In raising this point support was received from the Venezuelan delegate. The argument was immediately put forward that the Second Reveillaud scheme was not really a new proposal, being merely a modification of a scheme of which the Assembly was already seized, but the question was clearly so important that it was decided to submit it for examination by a Sub-Committee of Jurists consisting of Sir Cecil Hurst (British Empire), M.M. Struycken (Netherlands), Rolin (Belgium), Urutia (Columbia), and Noblemaire (France). It was obviously vital to the interests of the League that the Third Assembly should succeed in getting passed some scheme of allocation to take the place of the Postal Union scheme. Under the latter scheme many small States are quite unable to pay the contribution at which they are assessed, while several of the great Powers are assessed at amounts far less than those which they are ready to pay. Great interest was accordingly taken in the attitude adopted by India on this question, in which it seemed likely that the delegation was in a position (quite apart from the point of order) to block

acceptance of the Second Reveillaud scheme if it so desired. As there was no very great chance of getting any other scheme accepted unanimously by the Third Assembly, considerable apprehension was no doubt felt at the attitude which we considered it necessary to adopt.

13. Simultaneously with the appointment of the Sub-Committee referred to above, a further Sub-Committee of Committee I was nominated to examine the details of the proposed allocation scheme in the event of our being overruled on the point of order. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer was nominated as a member. In view of the fact that an Indian representative had been placed on the Sub-Committee, it appeared necessary, if we were to avoid a charge of being simply obstructive, to attempt to lay before the Sub-Committee the outline of some scheme based on the principle (which the Government of India had accepted) of taking net revenue as the fundamental test, in a form which would have had some slight chance of being accepted in place of the Second Reveillaud scheme. It became unnecessary, however, to carry through this somewhat difficult task owing to an agreement which was reached with the representatives of the United Kingdom and of the Dominions. At the suggestion of Lord Balfour, it was agreed that as the total of the contributions of all parts of the British Empire did not differ very materially, whether assessed under the Postal Union scheme, the First Reveillaud scheme or the Second Reveillaud scheme, it was desirable in the interests of the League that the Empire as a whole should accept the contributions under the Second Reveillaud scheme, and leave the question of the actual division of the total contribution between the various parts of the Empire to be settled by mutual agreement between them. To this proposal we agreed, and obtained from you telegraphic confirmation of our action.

14. The Sub-Committee, which had considered the preliminary point of order, overruled it on the technical ground that the question should have been raised, not in Committee, but in the Assembly itself, at the time the agenda was adopted. [See Addendum to Annex (iii) of Appendix II.] This view was criticised by several members of the First Committee, and it is probable that if the Indian Delegation had maintained their original attitude their point of order would have been upheld. But it was no longer necessary to press the point in view of the decision arrived at in the meantime, and the report of the Sub-Committee was accordingly accepted by the First Committee. On the 13th September, in the First Committee, on resumption of the discussion of the allocation question, Lord Balfour announced the decision of the British Empire as a whole and made it plain that this offer was subject to two conditions: (1) that the Second Reveillaud scheme should be accepted by the Assembly, and (2) that the scheme would be provisional for one year only, to allow time for a more scientific scale to be devised. There was some opposition to the Second Reveillaud scale in the Committee from Sweden, Venezuela, Cuba, Luxembourg and Lithuania, all of whose contributions were to be increased. France declared that she accepted the Second Reveillaud scale, and would be pleased to pay in the highest class of 95 units when her devastated territories had been restored and reparations had been paid. The Swiss, Colombian, Chinese, Japanese (subject to adoption of a final scheme later on), Spanish, Bulgarian and Danish Delegations all accepted the new scale. Poland announced that she was prepared to have her contribution, which was temporarily reduced last year for special reasons, raised from 15 to 25 units.

15. Further examination of the question was conducted by the aforementioned Sub-Committee, of which Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer was a member, sitting jointly with a Sub-Committee of Committee IV, under the chairmanship of M. Palacios (Spain). As a matter of fact, the only question of importance before this Sub-Committee was that of the distribution of the 10 units liberated by Poland among those countries which appeared to be likely to carry their opposition to the Second Reveillaud scheme to the length of voting against it in the Assembly if some reduction was not made in their contribution. Japan in the Sub-Committee presented a claim for a reduction, explaining that her attitude in the main Committee had been misunderstood. The result of the Committee's deliberations is given in the report of the First Committee

on this question printed in Annex (iii) of Appendix II. Twelve units were taken off the contribution of the claimants, and Hungary (newly admitted) was assessed at four, making the total number of units 944 instead of 942 (excluding the 35 units nominally assigned to the Argentine). The Second Reveillaud scheme has, by this process of bargaining with States which considered that they were assessed too high, been deprived of any appearance of being based on some general principle, and it is more than ever desirable that some more satisfactory scheme of allocation should be devised.

16. The other point of importance arising in connection with the allocation question was that of the period for which the revised scale should operate. A resolution was moved in the First Committee to the effect that the revised scale should take effect from the 1st January 1923, and should remain in force until the Assembly had adopted a revised scale. Objection was taken to this by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer on the ground that if a resolution were adopted in this form there was a danger that the Assembly would postpone grappling with the difficult question of the adoption of a revised and more scientific scale, and that the present admittedly provisional and unscientific scale might by lapse of time become very difficult to displace, and he urged that there should be a time limit of, at all events, not more than three years. At the instance of the Chairman of the Committee it was decided that it would be safer that the operation of the scheme should be definitely stated to be for one year only in the first instance. We thus attained the object which we desired. The Resolution, of which the text is given below, was accordingly adopted by the Committee, and also, practically without discussion, unanimously in the Assembly, the Cuban delegate, who had been the sole dissident in the Committee, abstaining from voting:—

“Considering that the present position of the finances of the League of Nations makes it imperatively necessary to modify as soon as possible the system of allocation of the expenses of the League of Nations among its Members and to replace the scale of the Universal Postal Union now in force by a more just and equitable scale;

“And considering that the scale annexed* to the present resolution has been recognised by general consent as establishing a more just and equitable system for the allocation of the said expenses, and that it is recognised to be desirable to secure the immediate application of this scale as a provisional measure:

“Approves the application of the above-mentioned scale for the allocation of the said expenses for the year nineteen hundred and twenty-three,

“and requests the Council to ask the Committee for the Allocation of Expenses, presided over by M. Reveillaud, to continue its researches with a view to preparing a definitive scale which may be submitted to a subsequent Assembly. The Assembly leaves it to the Council to modify the composition of the Committee as it thinks desirable.

“It begs the Council to notify the Members of the League of Nations that it is no longer necessary to continue the ratification of the Amendments No. 2 and No. 3 of Article 6, voted by the Assembly of 1922, but, on the other hand, to urge them to ratify as soon as possible the first amendment to that Article.”

The position as regards the year 1922 was unfortunately left extremely doubtful. The Postal Union scale clearly remains in force, but it is improbable that any attempt will be made seriously to press small States to pay more for that year than they would under the Reveillaud scheme now adopted for 1923.

17. The question of the actual number of units to be contributed by India remains, of course, for settlement with the United Kingdom and the Dominions. Certain preliminary informal discussion on this point was held at Geneva, but acting under your instructions no attempt was made to proceed far in the matter, and the question will no doubt be taken up in London. It emerged from the preliminary discussion that too low a figure had hitherto been assumed for the proportion which the “net revenue” of India bears to the total “net revenue” of Members of the League, for reasons with which it seems unnecessary to burden this report as they have been explained elsewhere. In our opinion, both on this ground and in view of the fact that India's important position has now been recognised by the acceptance of her

* See page 61.

claim to be one of the eight States of chief industrial importance, there is no doubt that it is equitable that the Indian contribution should be considerably in excess of that which would fall to her under the Postal Union scheme, which would be equivalent to about $45\frac{1}{2}$ Reveillaud units. On the other hand, there are, no doubt, grounds for thinking that the figure of 65 units, which would be assigned under the new scale, is somewhat high.

With a budget of 25,673,508 Swiss francs (*vide* para. 55) each Reveillaud unit for 1923 will be equivalent to 27,196 Swiss francs, or about 1,130*l*. (at 24 Swiss francs to the £).

18. It was ascertained from unofficial conversations with members of the Reveillaud Committee that it is their present intention, when preparing a revised basis of allocation, to omit altogether the factor of population. They consider it very doubtful whether they will have their new scheme ready in time for next Assembly. If this proves to be the case, there will presumably be no alternative to adoption of the 1923 scale for another year by the Assembly.

CONTRIBUTION OF SALVADOR.

19. The Salvador Government claim that, when they adhered to the Covenant of the League of Nations, they did not understand that they would have to contribute to the expenses of the International Labour Office, or indeed to any expenses beyond those specified in the Covenant itself, *viz.*, the expenses of the Secretariat, and they consequently do not consider themselves bound to pay any share of the expenditure on other objects. The contentions of Salvador were referred for examination to a Sub-Committee of Jurists consisting of Sir Cecil Hurst (British Empire), M. Struycken (Netherlands), M. Reveillaud (France), and M. Rolin (Belgium). The question raised is of considerable general interest, and the report of the Sub-Committee is therefore given in full in Annex (iv) of Appendix II. The conclusion of the Sub-Committee that Salvador was bound to contribute to all the expenses of the League, including those of the International Labour Office, was contested in the First Committee, the lead being taken by M. Alvarez (Chile), who maintained that the conclusions of the Sub-Committee were erroneous in that they relied (according to him) upon the fallacious argument that States which adhered to the Covenant of the League, had adhered to the whole of the Treaty of Versailles, of which the Covenant forms part. M. Alvarez contended, and he obtained some support from the Chairman, M. Scialoja (Italy), that the Covenant of the League of Nations, which finds its place, not only in the Treaty of Versailles, but in other subsequent treaties, is an entirely separate pact, and that adherence to it does not involve acceptance of any obligations beyond those actually contained in it. This line of argument (which the Sub-Committee considered misrepresented their views) did not find general favour with the Committee, but their convictions on this somewhat debatable subject were not sufficient firm to lead them to vote against the small minority who would not accept the report of the Sub-Committee. The final decision was accordingly that the report of the Sub-Committee and of all the discussions in the Committee itself should be transmitted to the Council with a view to their being forwarded to the Government of Salvador. It was hoped that, as the Salvador contribution had been very greatly decreased under the Reveillaud scheme, it was possible that that Government might adopt a more accommodating attitude. The Assembly, without discussion, accordingly adopted the following Resolution:—

"The Assembly decides that the report which the First Committee has received from its Sub-Committee on the claim of Salvador be transmitted without discussion to the Council of the League, together with the copies of the Minutes of the discussions of the Committee, in order that the Council may take such action in the matter as it considers appropriate." Assembly Res. No. 30 (2023)

INDEMNITIES PAYABLE TO JUDGES AND TECHNICAL ASSESSORS OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

20. The First Committee, in conjunction with the Fourth Committee, considered a small point referred to it by the Council, regarding remuneration

to be given to persons who are not judges or deputy judges of the Court, but are called upon to sit as judges under the special provisions of Article 31 of the Court's Statute, and also to certain technical assessors sitting under the special provisions of Articles 26 and 27 of the Statute. The proposals of the two Committees were accepted by the Assembly in the following Resolution:—

"Having considered proposals made to it by the Council, in accordance with Article 32 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. —

"Accepts the proposals of the Council, subject to certain changes as to the amounts payable, and decides as follows:—

"1. A judge sitting in the Permanent Court of International Justice who has been selected in accordance with Article 31 of the Statute of the Court and who is not a deputy judge shall be granted from the funds of the Court a daily duty allowance and a daily subsistence allowance and repayment of his travelling expenses, according to the rates and conditions applicable to a deputy judge taking part in a session of the Court.

"2. Technical assessors summoned to assist the Court in accordance with the provisions of Article 26 of the Statute of the Court shall be granted from the funds of the Court a daily subsistence allowance of fifty florins during the period for which their functions oblige them to reside at the place at which the session is held, unless they habitually reside there, or, if they reside at such place, a daily subsistence allowance of twenty-five florins; and, further, the necessary travelling expenses of these assessors shall be refunded to them out of the funds of the Court.

"3. Technical Assessors sitting in cases connected with transit and communications, and, in particular, cases coming under Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the Treaty of Versailles and the corresponding parts of the other Treaties of Peace referred to in Article 27 of the Statute of the Court, shall be treated in the same manner as the assessors referred to in paragraph 2 above if they sit by virtue of a decision of the Court. If the technical assessors sit at the request of the parties, the allowances and travelling expenses shall be borne by the parties in accordance with rules to be made by the Court."

INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

21. The Council of the League had submitted to the Assembly the following proposals:—

"Article 4 of the Covenant provides that the Council shall consist of representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with representatives of four other Members of the League selected by the Assembly.

"The Council may, however, with the approval of the majority of the Assembly, increase the number of non-permanent Members.

"Acting under these provisions, the Council thinks it is desirable that the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council should now be increased from four to six.

"The first paragraph of Article 4 is based on a certain principle concerning the number of the permanent and of the non-permanent Members of the Council. The proposed augmentation of the number of non-permanent Members produces a considerable modification in this principle. Nevertheless, a subsequent augmentation of the number of permanent Members would re-establish the principle of which Article 4 is the application without its being possible to consider that the change proposed to-day prejudiced such re-establishment.

"The Council asks the Assembly to approve this decision, in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant."

The motives which had prompted the Council in making these proposals were set forth in a letter addressed to the President of the Council by Lord Balfour and M. Bourgeois, of which the most important passage is as follows:—

"The Council may, however, with the approval of the majority of the Assembly, increase the number of non-permanent Members. The moment would seem to have arrived for the Council to consider the advisability of effecting this increase.

"Since the coming into force of the Covenant, the number of States Members of the League has been considerably increased by the admission of nine new States, which raises the number of States Members of the League to 51.

"Furthermore, it is very difficult to ensure an equitable allocation of the non-permanent seats among the different countries which, owing to common interests, have a tendency to form themselves into groups.

"In view of the increase in the Members of the League, and in order to allow those Members which are not permanently represented on the Council to take an active part in its work, it seems advisable to increase the number of non-permanent seats from four to six.

"We must not lose sight of the fact that, if this solution were adopted, the criticism might be made that the new formation of the Council would consist of four permanent States and of six non-permanent States, whereas the Covenant lays down that it should consist of five permanent States and four non-permanent States. But this objection can hardly be considered a serious one, since, by Article 5 of the Covenant, the decisions of the Council are, except where otherwise provided, taken unanimously by the Members represented at the meeting. The question of a majority therefore does not arise as far as the Council is concerned. It is advisable, moreover, to provide for a future increase of permanent Members."

22. The proposal to add two to the number of States to be elected to the Council was naturally received with satisfaction by most of the small Powers. There was a minority, however, in the First Committee, notably M.M. Struycken (Netherlands) and Motta (Switzerland), which expressed the view that it was premature to increase the non-permanent Members of the Council before it became necessary to do so on the entry of new States as permanent members of the Council and that there was anyhow a danger of weakening the influence of the Council if too many small States were on it. The argument was also put forward, which had of course already been weighed carefully in the Council itself, that any increase in the number of a body which takes its decisions by unanimity is liable to make it a less efficient instrument. The Assembly approved unanimously the Council's proposal, which had found favour with the majority of the First Committee, and adopted on 25th September the following Resolution:—

"The Assembly approves the decision of the Council to increase the number of members of the League chosen by the Assembly for representation on the Council from four to six. This decision shall come into force immediately."

Assembly Resol
No. 18 (25 Sep

PROCEDURE FOR ELECTION OF NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

23. On the motion of the Chinese Delegation the Assembly decided to take up this question again and referred it to the First Committee. In dealing with this matter there was a serious preliminary constitutional difficulty which was the subject of much discussion in the Committee. The amendment of Article 4 of the Covenant adopted by the Second Assembly, which included the

* "The Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility."

paragraph shown in the margin,* has not yet been ratified, and consequently it was held by many that it was not within the competence of the Third Assembly to lay down any rule, especially in view of the provision in the first paragraph of Article 4 of the Covenant providing that the non-permanent Members of Council "shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time 'in its discretion' " (*librement* in the French text). In spite of these difficulties it was decided, in view of the necessity of having some rules under which to conduct the elections at this Assembly, to proceed with the examination of the question. A Sub-Committee, of which M. Barthélemy (France) was *rappporteur*, drew up a series of rules which formed the basis of the final decision of the Assembly, given below.

24. The first point which was raised in Committee by the Persian and Chinese delegates (who were supported by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer) was that it was desirable that attention should be given to geographical, racial and religious considerations in electing non-permanent Members of the Council, so that it might always be ensured that at least one Asiatic State should be among the non-permanent Members, apart from Japan, which is a permanent member. The Persian delegate suggested that practical force should be given to this principle by arranging that the voting should take place in three separate divisions—the first would be for three seats for Europe, the second for two seats for America, and the third for one seat for other parts of the globe. The Committee considered almost unanimously that any such stereotyped division as this would be contrary to the provisions of Article 4 of the Covenant, which declares that the selection must take place "*librement*." For the same reason it took the view that it was not possible to frame any kind of definite rules on this point, and contented itself with proposing to the Assembly a recommendation in a general form that weight should be attached to such circumstances by the Members of the League when voting.

25. Apart from the constitutional difficulty, the rules appeared to find general acceptance, but curiously enough the *rapporteur* (M. Barthélemy) explained that he had been approached by various delegates, who apparently were unwilling to state their point of view openly in Committee, objecting to election by means of "*scrutin de liste*" for all six seats simultaneously instead of filling each seat one at a time. This party apparently based their objections ostensibly once again on the grounds that secret ballots and *scrutin de liste* are not in conformity with the adverb "*librement*" in the Covenant. The view of these anonymous objectors did not however find favour with the Committee; the only point which gave rise to serious difficulty was the finding of a way out of the constitutional *impasse*. It was finally decided to divide the proposed rules into three parts. The first, dealing with the actual machinery for the elections, was to be adopted by the Assembly as a resolution, and was to be regarded solely as a question of procedure for which a majority, if necessary, would suffice. The second and even more important part of the rules, which laid down the term of office of the non-permanent members and instituted a system of retirement in rotation with ineligibility for a period equal to that of the term of office, was to be regarded—even if passed unanimously—not as a binding decision of the Assembly, but as a declaration of the wishes of the Assembly indicating the conditions under which they considered that the members to be elected on this occasion should hold office. The third part of the rules concluded with a general recommendation regarding the weight to be given to the geographical and racial principle.

26. The Committee accepted this solution of the difficulty, but it was found when the question was ripe for the Assembly that some of those who had pressed the constitutional objection most strongly were proposing to raise difficulties in the Assembly. Unanimity was, however, obtained by the device of a slight amendment to the second resolution, proposed by Lord Balfour, which provided that, instead of making a declaration in favour of the rules proposed, the Third Assembly should recommend that the Fourth Assembly should adopt the rules proposed. This made it clear that the Third Assembly considered that those selected at the forthcoming election ought to have their tenure, etc., determined by these rules, but also made it plain that it was only within the competence of the Fourth Assembly (after ratification of the amendment of Article 4 of the Covenant had taken place) to draw up binding rules. The text finally adopted by the Assembly unanimously on 29th September is as follows:—

RESOLUTIONS.

The Assembly adopts, for the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, the following rules of procedure:—

I. The members whose representatives are to sit on the Council as non-permanent members of that body shall be selected by the Assembly by secret ballot.

Where several seats are to be filled, the election shall be made by voting a list of names. Any ballot paper containing more names than there are seats to be filled shall be null and void.

No member shall be elected at the first or at the second ballot unless it has obtained at least the absolute majority of the votes. If, after two ballots, there still remain seats to be filled, a third ballot shall be held upon a list consisting of the candidates which obtained most votes at the second ballot, up to a number double that of the seats still to be filled, and those members shall be elected which obtain the greatest number of votes.

If two or more members obtain the same number of votes and there is not a seat available for each, a special ballot shall be held between them; if they again obtain an equal number of votes, the President shall decide between them by drawing lots.

II. Pending the ratification by the States of the amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant voted by the Assembly in 1921, and without prejudice to the right of the Assembly to "select in its discretion," in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant, the non-permanent Members of the Council, the Assembly recommends that the Fourth Assembly adopt the following rules:—

The non-permanent Members of the Council are elected for a period of three years, commencing on the first day of January following the date of their election.

Retiring members are not eligible for re-election until the expiration of a period of three years.

One-third of the non-permanent part of the Council shall be renewed each year.

If one or two of the members now on the Council are re-elected, their mandates shall terminate at the end of the first year.

If more than two members now on the Council are re-elected, lots shall be drawn to determine which one or which two of them shall not retire until the end of the second year.

If necessary, lots will be drawn to determine the order of retirement as between newly elected members, so as to bring up to two the number of members retiring.

If, for any reason, a seat on the Council filled by any State should become vacant during the first period of three years, the State shall be considered as having retired, with the result that, if such vacancy occurs during the first year, lots shall only be drawn for one seat, and if the vacancy occurs during the second year, lots shall only be drawn for one seat.

If such a vacancy occurs after the expiration of the first period of three years, the Assembly shall fill it at the session following its occurrence, but the member so elected shall only complete the current mandate.

RECOMMENDATION.

It is desirable that the Assembly, in electing the six non-permanent Members of the Council, should make its choice with due consideration for the main geographical divisions of the world, the great ethnical groups, the different religious traditions, the various types of civilisation and the chief sources of wealth.

QUESTION OF THE DATE OF THE MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY.

27. The French and Italian delegates proposed an amendment to Article 1 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, so as to provide that the meetings of the Assembly should begin on the third Monday in September instead of the first Monday in September. The reasons put forward in favour of this change were that it would be more convenient for the Secretariat, and for delegates who were Members of Parliaments which sit on well into August and who were unable to obtain a holiday before the meetings of the Assembly. Opposition was raised from various quarters, including the Canadian and Indian Delegations, on the grounds (mainly) that the time proposed was less likely to suit members of their legislative bodies, and the French and Italian proposal was accordingly withdrawn.

AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE 14 OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

28. On a motion by Lord Balfour para 2 of Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly was amended with a view to making clear the procedure to be adopted in financial matters. The amended rule—which also finds a place in the regulations for the financial administration of the League adopted this year (*see* para. 50 below)—provides that—

- (1) recommendations by Committees involving expenditure must indicate whether such expenditure is part of the general expenses of the League, or is recoverable from certain members specially concerned;
- (2) that recommendations by a Committee other than the Fourth (Finance) Committee involving expenditure should be submitted to the Fourth Committee with an estimate of the expenditure involved; and
- (3) that no resolution involving expenditure shall be voted by the Assembly before the Finance Committee has expressed an opinion as to its advisability, judged from the point of view of budgetary resources.

The actual text of the amended Rule of Procedure, adopted by the Assembly on the 29th September (Resolution No. 32^a), will be found in Annex (i) of Appendix II, which gives the complete Rules of Procedure of the Assembly as amended by the Third Assembly (*see* page 52).

AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLES 4 AND 7 OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE.

29. On the proposal of the Spanish delegate the Committee and the Assembly accepted slight amendments to Articles 4 and 7 of the Rules of Procedure. The object of the amendment of Article 4 was to bring the rule into conformity with the present practice by which the yearly report submitted to the Assembly on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat is combined, as is indeed inevitable, in one general report, and does not take the form of two separate reports, (1) on the work of the Council and (2) on the work of the Secretary-General, as is implied by the wording of the original Rule 4 of the Rules of Procedure. The amendments of Article 7 were intended to obviate a slight difficulty, which was pointed out by the Spanish Delegation at the first session of the Assembly. Under Rule 8 of the Rules of Procedure the President, in framing the agenda, is required to be assisted by the "General Committee," which consists of the President, six Vice-Presidents, and the Chairmen of the main Committees of the Assembly. It was found convenient that the election of the Vice-Presidents should not take place on the first day, and certain action by the President was criticised by the Spanish delegate as out of order, as having been taken without the advice of the General Committee, which had not yet been constituted. The Spanish delegate was overruled on this point by 18 votes to 16, but the revised rule now adopted will obviate any such difficulty. The amended texts of Rules 4 and 7, adopted by the Assembly on the 29th September (Resolution No. 36*), will be found in Annex (i) of Appendix II (*see* pages 52 and 53).

RATIFICATION OF AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT.

30 Both in connection with the allocation question and the question of framing rules for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council, it became apparent that the gravest difficulties arose from the fact that the amendments to the Covenant approved by the last Assembly had not been ratified before the sittings of this Assembly. The First Committee accordingly adopted a Resolution calling the attention of delegations to the importance of getting their Governments to ratify these amendments (with the exception of amendments 2 and 3 to Article 6, which, in any case, could not come into force owing to the French refusal to ratify). Lord Balfour in the Assembly independently moved a similar motion, and the following Resolution was accordingly adopted:—

"The Assembly declares that it is of the highest importance that the amendments to the Covenant already passed, with the exception of amendments 2 and 3 to Article 6, should be ratified by the Governments of the States Members of the League, and it requests the Council to take all proper measures to secure this result."

31. Acting under full power and in accordance with the instructions received from you, Lord Chelmsford signed on the 7th September the protocols of amendment to Articles 4, 12, 13, 15 and 26 of the Covenant, and withheld signature to the protocols of amendment to Articles 6 and 16. The latter the British Empire has not yet decided to accept, but there is, in our opinion, now no reason why the first amendment to Article 6 should not be ratified by India at once. In view of the facts detailed in paras. 11 to 18 above, there appears to be no longer any reason for withholding ratification of the amendment, which places the power of decision on the question of allocation in the hands of the Assembly. Such decision would, of course, normally have to be taken unanimously.

It is noteworthy that the Third Assembly did not recommend any fresh amendments to the Covenant.

Work of Committee No. II.—The Work of the Technical Organisations of the League.

PROVISIONAL ECONOMIC AND FINANCE COMMITTEES.

ADVISORY AND TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

32. The discussion in the Second Committee of the Assembly on the reports of these Committees was without any special interest. In effect it

amounted to little more than approbation of the work done by these Committees and encouragement to continue and extend their activities. In Annexes (v) and (vi) respectively of Appendix II. will be found copies of the reports of the Second Committee on these subjects, which give convenient reviews of the ground covered by the work of these two Committees of the League. In those annexes is also given the text of the resolutions passed by the Assembly (*see* page 75).

HEALTH ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE.

33 The discussion in Committee II. on the work of the Health Organisation centred round three main topics. The first was a proposal that the Health Organisation should be established as a permanent organisation of the League. Fears were expressed by the delegates of Holland, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand that this would lead to further expenditure by the League. The question was again raised whether the projected organisation would not duplicate the work of the Office Internationale d'Hygiène Publique at Paris, and if the final result would not be to create a kind of super-State administration, which in its turn would necessitate further organisations. The Director of the Office Internationale d'Hygiène Publique in Paris (who was also a member of the Provisional Health Committee) and the Director of the Health Section of the Secretariat, replied to these criticisms. The Office Internationale played, they explained, the part performed by the General Conference in normal technical organisations, the provisional Committee established by the Council was the executive organisation and the Health Section of the Secretariat was the *liaison* organisation. The proper part to be played by the Health Organisation was primarily that of corresponding with public health organisations, and of providing a centre for information in the conduct of enquiries. It was also entrusted with the task of carrying on the necessary work of unification, such as the establishment of a unit of measure for the standardisation of sera. They pointed out the importance of the support afforded by the Rockefeller Foundation. The Committee also considered a suggestion of the Serb-Croat-Slovene delegate that an International Conference might be summoned on the model of the Transit Conference, in order to establish a permanent committee. The final result of the discussion was that the question was left over for the Fourth Assembly to deal with, with a suggestion that the principles of a possible constitution might be worked out in the meantime.

34. The second main topic of discussion on this subject was the collection of funds from Governments who were prepared to contribute towards fighting epidemics in Central Europe. Lord Balfour had already announced in the Assembly that the British Government were prepared to contribute one-third of the total amount raised by Governments (*i.e.*, half the amount raised by all the other Governments together), subject to a maximum contribution of 100,000% by the British Government. It was suggested that all delegations should communicate with their Governments, with a view to announcing before the Assembly broke up what assistance (if any) could be furnished. No further offers were however in fact announced in the Assembly before it broke up. We communicated with you on this subject in our letter of 16th September, expressing the view that, so far as we were in a position to judge, there was no special need for any contribution from India for this purpose.

35. The third topic of discussion, which aroused a certain amount of controversy, was the proposal that the sum of 125,000 gold francs should be charged to the general budget of the Health Organisation as a contribution towards the expenses of the Epidemic Commission, on the ground that this Commission had carried out a considerable amount of work of general utility. Almost all the British Empire delegates, including the delegate for India, expressed concern at this proposal, which would not only increase the present financial burden of the League, but seemed likely to tend eventually to the establishment of the Epidemic Commission as a permanent sub-section of the Health Department of the League. In the resolution finally adopted on this

subject deciding, with the concurrence of the Fourth Committee, to grant a sum of only 50,000 gold francs to the Epidemic Commission, the temporary nature of the Commission was emphasised (*see* page 86).

36 The report of the Second Committee on the work of the Health Organisation is given in Annex (vii) of Appendix II, where will also be found the text of the resolutions adopted by the Assembly (*see* page 80).

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

37. In 1921 the Second Assembly adopted resolutions as to the nomination by the Council of a Committee, to consist of not more than 12 members and to contain both men and women, to examine the international questions regarding intellectual co-operation (*see* Indian Delegation's Report of 1921, page 42). The report of this Committee, hereinafter referred to as the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, was considered by Assembly Committee II, when the Chairman of the former Committee, Professor Bergson, made a statement concerning the state of intellectual life in Europe after the war, and then read resolutions which he had already presented to the Council. These resolutions, which he asked the Committee to adopt, concerned the assistance to be given, scientific documentation, and international and inter-University co-operation. Professor Gilbert Murray (South Africa) introduced an amendment to the effect that the Committee hoped to be able to take advantage of the collaboration of the learned men of all countries. He thought that the holding of international congresses was not perhaps practicable, so long as intellectual collaboration of the learned men of all countries encountered certain opposition. A proposal by the Chinese delegate that the Committee should refer a recommendation on the question of moral education to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation for a preliminary study was adopted. Sir James Allen (New Zealand) drew attention to the financial implications of the proposed resolutions, particularly as regards the scheme for an international fund for scientific research. After an exchange of views, it was agreed that the maximum sum which could be contemplated for this purpose was 180,000 francs. A Sub-Committee was appointed to study a proposal made by M. Avramovitch (Serb-Croat-Slovene) to the effect that books and documents should be sent to the Universities and Polytechnic establishments of the countries which had been deprived of their collections owing to the devastations of the war, and which were unable to procure others owing to their financial difficulties. An amendment of M. Munch (Denmark), regarding the collaboration of the *savants* of every country in international conferences of scientific men, was also referred to the same Sub-Committee, which unanimously adopted the resolution proposed by M. Avramovitch regarding the supply of books and which became No. 5 in the resolutions printed below. As regards the resolution proposed by the Danish delegate, regarding the collaboration of *savants*, which corresponded to a resolution proposed by Professor Gilbert Murray, the Sub-Committee was of opinion that the case was met by the addition to paragraph 1 of the resolution of the words proposed by Professor Gilbert Murray, and it thought it desirable that the consideration of the resolution should be referred to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. M. Munch accepted that solution. On the discussion of the draft resolution as a whole there was a prolonged exchange of views as to whether the financial position of the League justified the Committee in recommending their adoption. The British, Dutch, Australian, and New Zealand delegates did not favour them, but proposed that they should be re-drafted in such a way that no actual expenditure should be obligatory on the League. This proposal, which received four votes, was rejected by the Committee. It was decided that the League of Nations could not dissociate itself from intellectual co-operation and thus jeopardise the work so brilliantly begun. It could not refuse to take advantage of the co-operation of *savants* such as M. Bergson, Professor Einstein and Mme Curie, who offered their collaboration freely. On the proposal of the British representative, the Committee decided to amend the resolutions in the sense that Committee IV. should set a limit to the funds to be expended for this purpose, but informed

the Fourth Committee that the programme of work approved by the Council since the preliminary budget had been prepared would require 180,000 frs., whereas only 50,000 of the 75,000 frs. allotted for the International Bureaux and the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, would be available for the latter. The Fourth Committee recommended a supplementary grant of 50,000 frs., thus increasing the budgetary provisions for intellectual co-operation from 50,000 to 100,000 frs.

38. In the Assembly, M. de Jouvenel (France), *rapporteur*, explained that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had begun by making an inventory of the intellectual patrimony of mankind. For this purpose it had instituted Sub-Committees, to study the unification of regulations for archaeological questions, the internationalisation of methods of bibliography, and the question of an international index and catalogue, etc. It had afterwards made a list of the international institutions occupied in intellectual work. The Assembly was invited to approve the plan of work which had thus been drawn up. It consisted (1) of protecting the intellectual patrimony of mankind, (2) of the development of this patrimony, (3) of improving the material situation of intellectual workers and the methods of collaboration in intellectual work. The Committee also proposed to study the question of intellectual property, and the steps to be taken to permit workers to maintain their position between the manual workers and the capitalists, with a view to a more scientific organisation of labour. The Assembly unanimously adopted the resolutions of the Second Committee, *viz* :—

" 1. The Assembly takes note of the Report of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and highly appreciates the work accomplished by that Committee during its first session, and also the systematic and judicious method in accordance with which the Committee has drawn up the programme of its future work; the Assembly congratulates the Chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, M. H. Bergson, together with his colleagues, upon their useful and remarkable work, and expresses the hope that the Committee will pursue its work with the help of the most competent men of all countries to the extent allowed by the credits voted by the Assembly. Assembly Res No. 29 (28 s

" 2. The Assembly notes with satisfaction the resolutions in which the Council has authorised the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to undertake an inquiry into the position with regard to intellectual work, and to appoint three sub-committees to investigate questions of Bibliography, questions of Inter-University Co-operation, and questions of Intellectual Proprietary Rights.

" 3. The Assembly decides to send an appeal to all countries which have not yet accepted the conventions relating to the International Exchange of Publications, signed at Brussels on 15th March 1886, asking them to give their adhesion thereto.

" 4. The Assembly has noted with much interest the detailed investigations carried out by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, regarding the conditions of intellectual life in countries where its continuance is especially endangered. The Assembly invites the Council to follow up this important question within the limits proposed by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

" 5. The Assembly invites the Council to stimulate an intellectual co-operation based upon international solidarity, in order to procure scientific books and documents for the Universities and schools of those countries which, as a result of war, have been deprived of them and which have not sufficient resources to acquire them."

39. When the Assembly was considering the general estimates for 1922 M. Reynald (France) proposed that the supplementary credit for 50,000 francs for the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should be increased to 100,000 francs. This proposal was supported by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar in a speech* in which he pointed out that, if the League was to undertake work of this kind at all, it was no good to spoil the ship for a hap'orth of tar. The proposed increase was hotly contested by practically all other parts of the British Empire, who emphasised the view that it was undesirable for the Assembly to vote money the expenditure of which had not been recommended by its Finance Committee. A vote was taken, 25 States being in favour of the increase and 12 against (South Africa, Australia, British Empire, Canada, China, Denmark, Esthonia, Norway, New Zealand, Panama, Netherlands, Siam) (*see also* para. 58 below). *See page 135

PAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS AT SANTIAGO.

40. The Assembly, on the recommendation of Committee II., unanimously passed the following Resolution, which had been submitted by the Brazilian delegate :—

"The Assembly expresses a desire that at the next Pan-American Congress, the Members of the League of Nations represented at the Congress should call the attention of the latter to the work of the Technical Organisations of the League of Nations ;

"Expresses a desire that these Members should consider the means by which any future action contemplated by the Pan-American Congress in connection with any question which is being dealt with by the Technical Organisations of the League of Nations may, as far as possible, be carried on in co-operation with these Organisations, and

"Recommends that, if necessary, the Council should authorise the Technical Organisations to co-operate in any action of general interest which the Pan-American Congress may decide to take."

Work of Committee No. III.- Reduction of Armaments.

41. The discussions on this question were based on the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission. This Report is an important document of some length, which repays study, and it is not proposed to attempt to give a summary of its contents. The chief centre of interest was Lord Robert Cecil's proposal, adopted by the Commission, for a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, explained on pages 11—14 of the Report.

Lord Robert Cecil asked for general approval of the proposal that the line of advance should be as outlined therein, that the Governments of the Members of the League should be asked to examine the principles suggested, and that in the meantime the Temporary Mixed Commission should be requested to elaborate a model draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee which might be considered by the Assembly next year. To focus discussion Lord Robert Cecil tabled the following resolutions taken from the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission :—

"1. No scheme for the reduction of armaments can ever be really successful unless it is general.

"2. In the present state of the world, the majority of Governments would be unable to accept the responsibility for a serious reduction of armaments unless they received in exchange a satisfactory guarantee of the safety of their countries.

"3. Such a guarantee can be found in a general defensive agreement between all countries concerned, binding them to provide immediate and effective assistance in accordance with a prearranged plan in the event of one of them being attacked, provided that the obligation to render assistance to a country attacked shall be limited in principle to those countries situated in the same part of the globe. In cases, however, where for historical, geographical or other reasons, a country is in special danger of attack, detailed arrangements should be made for its defence in accordance with the above mentioned plan.

"4. It is understood that the whole of the above resolutions are conditional on a reduction of armaments being carried out on lines laid down beforehand, and on the provision of effective machinery to ensure the realisation and the maintenance of such a reduction."

42. A lengthy and interesting debate took place on these resolutions. It was plain that on the whole the resolutions met with general support, but the discussion revealed at times a certain amount of mutual suspicion between three main parties, of which the protagonists were : (1) Lord Robert Cecil, who desired that the scheme should be as far as possible universal, and that the treaty should be conditional on a general reduction of armaments following immediately ; (2) M. de Jouvenel (France), who pressed that it should be made possible for the scheme to be limited in scope at first and for the reductions in armaments to be proportionate to the amount of security given by the limited Treaty of Guarantee ; and (3) by M. Lange (Norway), who emphasised the risk that for some States the obligations accepted under the Mutual Guarantee Treaty might necessitate an increase rather than a decrease of armaments, and also pressed that it must be made plain that the Mutual Treaty should be open to any nation which cared to join it, so as to avoid the danger of it becoming merely an alliance of the old type. Mr. Fisher (British Empire) explained that in supporting the

resolutions he could not, of course, bind his Government to enter into any Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, or to the acceptance of this principle as the only way of reducing armaments; but he did take the view that this was a promising method which should be further explored. He pointed out the very great practical difficulties that arose in the case of the British Empire if a Mutual Guarantee is entered into by European States, including Great Britain. It would follow that all parts of the Empire, however distant from Europe, would be involved in such a treaty and apparently be under an obligation to come to the assistance of a European Power.

43. The Committee confined itself to a general discussion of the broad principles of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, and did not examine such illustrative details as are given in the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission of the machinery that might be used to make the Guarantee effective. M. Lange proposed, however, that when the Temporary Mixed Commission came to work out their proposals into a more concrete form, they should adopt a different test to determine the "aggressor" State from that suggested in the Report, *viz.*, the State decided by the Council to be the one which has deliberately violated the territory of the other. He suggested, for consideration, that the aggressor should be taken to be the State which refused to submit a dispute for pacific enquiry. This question was left in abeyance. M. Lange also obtained approval to a proposal that the Temporary Mixed Commission should devote attention to the case of possible regional agreements in certain parts of the world in which an even greater reduction of armaments might be attainable than that likely to follow from a general Mutual Guarantee Treaty. Count Tosti (Italy) expressed some apprehension that the Guarantee Treaty might conflict with existing treaties, but his view was not generally shared by the Committee. The resolutions which were finally adopted by the Committee on the subject of the Guarantee Treaty (*see* para. XIV of the Assembly Resolutions given below) left it open whether progress should be made by means of a general treaty as desired by Lord Robert Cecil or by means of a partial treaty, capable of further expansion later, as advocated by the French.

44. At the conclusion of the Committee's work on this particular subject, Lord Robert Cecil, taking as his text the thesis that material disarmament is impossible without moral disarmament, and that moral disarmament can only be achieved by the attainment of mutual confidence—to which the chief obstacle at present is the economic chaos of the world—proposed to add to the resolutions adopted by Committee I., a lengthy resolution advocating a reference to the League of Nations on the problem of reparations and inter-allied debts. When discussion on this subject was resumed, after a two days' delay by general agreement, a briefer and clearer resolution proposed by M. de Jouvenel and supported by Mr. Fisher was substituted for that of Lord Robert Cecil. The debate on this resolution obtained considerable attention from the public and the Press. In view of the interest attaching thereto it is given in full in Appendix III. (a). The resolution finally adopted by the Third Committee, and subsequently by the Assembly, forms para. XVI. of the Resolution given below.

45. The question of the greatest importance after that of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, which was dealt with in Committee No. III., was that of the reduction of Naval Armaments. The Temporary Mixed Commission had prepared a draft treaty in outline on the lines of the Washington Treaty for Naval Armaments, to which all States might adhere. The proposal to summon next year an international Conference to consider the possibility of following some such course as this was approved by the Committee after words had been inserted in the Resolution given below, with a view to relieving the fears expressed by some States—notably by Brazil, which argued that her navy was already below that essential for the defensive protection of her long coastline, and by Poland, which pointed out that, although she had no navy at present, she did not wish to be estopped from the possibility of acquiring one at some future date. It may be pointed out that India has no direct interest in this question, as she is already a party to the Washington Agreement.

46. The Committee approved a proposal by Sir Mark Sheldon (Australia) that Governments should be urged to adhere to the Washington Convention regarding the use of poison gas and submarines. M. Urrutia (Colombia) withdrew a somewhat similar proposal on the same subject in favour of that of Sir M. Sheldon.

47. A resolution was adopted on the motion of M. de Jouvenel, inviting States which had no special reasons for maintaining large armaments to reduce the total of their defence expenditure to the figures of 1913, after allowing for the difference between pre-war and post-war prices.

48. It was generally admitted that it was impossible to make further progress as regards the limitation of the traffic in arms or their private manufacture, unless it was possible to obtain the co-operation of the United States. The refusal of that Government to adhere to the Convention of St. Germain was received shortly before the opening of the Assembly, but as that refusal contained an expression of willingness to co-operate on this subject, it was decided to recommend that the Council should take such steps as might be possible to find out from the United States Government to what extent it would be possible to get them to agree to act.

49. The final report of the Third Committee which was submitted to the Assembly is of interest, and also renders more easily intelligible the resolutions given below which were passed by the Assembly, and its text is therefore reproduced in full in Annex (viii) of Appendix II. It deals also with various comparatively minor points not mentioned in this section of our report. The debate in the Assembly on this report opened on the 26th September with a long speech by Lord Robert Cecil, who reviewed the recommendations in the report, and concluded with an appeal to the peoples of the world to choose between progress on the lines recommended by the League and the abandonment of all hope of saving civilisation from the horrors of the next war, which would utterly destroy it. The proposals of the report were supported by M. Scialoja (Italy), who emphasised the impossibility of starting with a *general* Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, and by M. de Jouvenel in an eloquent speech, which nevertheless left the audience in some doubt as to the precise interpretation to be placed upon it. Mr. Fisher, in supporting the proposals, was careful to point out the many difficulties which lay in the way of a successful carrying through of the plan of a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, and he declared it to be his view that the attitude of the British public towards these proposals would be dependent very largely on the temper and tone shown on the Continent, and on the evidence that might be forthcoming of a real desire to use the proposed Treaty of Guarantee for the purpose of securing disarmament and maintaining European peace. Further support to the proposals was given by the Japanese, Netherlands, Spanish and Persian delegates. The Swedish and Norwegian delegates, in supporting the proposals, emphasised the point of view which they had adopted in Committee, that in some regions of the world disarmament might proceed faster than would be likely to be possible if it waited upon the adoption of a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee. Dr. Munch (Denmark) raised a completely new point in proposing to condemn the principle of compulsory military service. The Assembly finally adopted unanimously the resolutions of which the text is given below. The speeches of M. de Jouvenel and Mr. Fisher in the Assembly are given in full in Appendix III. (b) (page 114).

I. (a) The Assembly considers it desirable that the Temporary Mixed Commission should be asked to continue for another year the work which it has begun and that its report be submitted at an early date previous to that of the next Assembly. The Assembly further requests the Council to invite the Members of the League to lend their assistance to the Commission in its difficult task, and to give their assistance and advice with regard to proposals for reduction of land armaments and a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee.

(b) The Assembly desires to express its sense of the great value of the collaboration that has existed between the Temporary Mixed Commission and the Permanent Advisory Commission, and trusts that it will continue and, if possible, increase. The Assembly is of opinion that the great technical competence of the Permanent Advisory Commission cannot but be of essential service in the study, from the technical military point of view, of the questions with which the Temporary Mixed Commission deals.

II. The Assembly recommends that, as a preliminary step, the European States existing before the war of 1914, under their present description, whose juridical status has not been altered by the war, and which are not, at the moment, engaged in military operations which justify their armaments, be invited to reduce the total of their military, naval and air expenditure to the figures for 1913, calculated on the basis of pre-war prices according to the method employed by the Temporary Mixed Commission.

III. The Assembly expresses its satisfaction at the remarkable work accomplished in collecting and drawing up statistical data in an entirely new and peculiarly difficult field.

Taking into account the work accomplished, and reserving the question of the scope which it might be necessary to give to a statistical enquiry at a later date, the Assembly desires to determine for the coming year the programme which appears to it both immediately useful and practicable. It therefore proposes that this programme should be limited to the two following points:—

- (1) Peace-time armaments ;
- (2) Expenditure on armaments.

The Assembly considers it desirable that the Council should request the Permanent Advisory Commission to collaborate with the Temporary Mixed Commission in that part of the work which deals with technical military, naval and air questions.

IV. The Assembly, having considered the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission, is of opinion that the only step which could usefully be taken in connection with surplus stocks of arms and ammunition is the control of the international traffic in arms.

V. The Assembly, having noted the proposal of the Temporary Mixed Commission for an international agreement for the control of the manufacture of arms by private companies, urges on the Council to consider the advisability of summoning, at an appropriate moment, a conference of the Members of the League to embody this agreement in the form of a convention. The Assembly is further of the opinion that States not Members of the League should be invited to participate in this conference and to co-operate in the policy on which it may agree.

(a) The Assembly considers it highly desirable that the Government of the United States should express the objections which it has to formulate to the provisions of the Convention of St. Germain, as well as any proposals which it may care to make as to the way in which these objections can be overcome.

(b) The Assembly is of the opinion that the Temporary Mixed Commission should be instructed to prepare a scheme for the control of the international traffic in arms, to be considered by the Conference which is to deal with the private manufacture of arms.

(c) The Assembly requests the Council to take such steps as it thinks advisable to carry out the purposes above indicated.

VII. (a) The Assembly, having considered the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission on the subject of the development of chemical warfare, approves its action in establishing a special Sub-Committee to report on the probable effects of chemical discoveries in future wars, and requests the Council and the Temporary Mixed Commission to take every possible measure to secure the fullest publicity for the report of this Sub-Committee.

(b) The Assembly requests the Council to recommend the Members of the League and other nations to adhere to the Treaty of Washington (6th February 1922) concerning the use of asphyxiating gas and submarines in war, and other similar matters.

VIII. The Assembly, having considered the answers from the Governments of twenty-six Members of the League to the enquiry issued to them by the Council, as to the requirements of their national security desires to state that it attaches the utmost importance to these replies as affording a basis for the further deliberations of the Temporary Mixed Commission, and recommends to the Council that it should once again urge the Members of the League which have not yet sent in their replies to do so without delay.

IX. The Assembly approves the recommendation of the Temporary Mixed Commission that the Council should consider whether the time has not come to discuss the application of the paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant relating to the exchange of military information between States Members of the League.

The Assembly expresses its satisfaction at the work accomplished at Washington in connection with the reduction of naval armaments.

XI. (a) The Assembly welcomes with interest the Chilean Government's initiative in submitting the question of disarmament to the Pan-American Congress which is to meet at Santiago in March 1923.

The Assembly expresses the hope that the Congress may arrive at practical solutions capable of being fitted into the more general scheme of disarmament which is being considered by the League of Nations.

(6) The Assembly recommends to the Council that the expert services of the League of Nations should eventually be authorised to co-operate in the work of the Pan-American Congress of Santiago.

The Assembly recommends :

XII. (a) That an International Conference should be summoned by the Council as soon as possible, to which all States, whether Members of the League or not, should be invited, with a view to considering the extension to all non-signatory States of the principles of the Washington Treaty for the limitation of naval armaments, it being understood that any special cases, including those of the new States, shall be given due consideration at the Conference.

(4) That the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission, together with the report and the draft Convention prepared by the Permanent Advisory Commission, as well as the text of the Washington Treaty, should be forwarded immediately to the various Governments for consideration.

XIII. The Assembly, having examined the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission on the general principles of land and air disarmament, instructs the Commission to continue its investigations on the basis of these principles, with a view to preparing for the consideration of the next Assembly a definite scheme for the general reduction of land and air armaments.

XIV. (a) The Assembly, having considered the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission on the question of a general Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, being of opinion that this report can in no way affect the complete validity of all the Treaties of Peace or other agreements which are known to exist between States; and considering that this report contains valuable suggestions as to the methods by which a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee could be made effective, is of the opinion that :

(1) No scheme for the reduction of armaments, within the meaning of Article 8 of the Covenant, can be fully successful unless it is general.

(2) In the present state of the world many Governments would be unable to accept the responsibility for a serious reduction of armaments unless they received in exchange a satisfactory guarantee of the safety of their country.

(3) Such a guarantee can be found in a defensive agreement which should be open to all countries, binding them to provide immediate and effective assistance in accordance with a pre-arranged plan in the event of one of them being attacked, provided that the obligation to render assistance to a country attacked shall be limited in principle to those countries situated in the same part of the globe. In cases, however, where, for historical, geographical, or other reasons, a country is in special danger of attack, detailed arrangements should be made for its defence in accordance with the above-mentioned plan.

(4) As a general reduction of armaments is the object of the three preceding statements, and the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee the means of achieving that object, previous consent to this reduction is therefore the first condition for the Treaty.

This reduction could be carried out either by means of a general Treaty, which is the most desirable plan, or by means of partial treaties designed to be extended and open to all countries.

In the former case, the Treaty will carry with it a general reduction of armaments. In the latter case, the reduction should be proportionate to the guarantees afforded by the Treaty.

The Council of the League, after having taken the advice of the Temporary Mixed Commission, which will examine how each of these two systems could be carried out, should further formulate and submit to the Governments for their consideration and sovereign decision the plan of the machinery, both political and military, necessary to bring them clearly into effect.

(6) The Assembly requests the Council to submit to the various Governments the above proposals for their observations, and requests the Temporary Mixed Commission to continue its investigations, and, in order to give precision to the above statements, to prepare a draft Treaty embodying the principles contained therein.

XV. The Assembly, whilst declaring that the reduction of armaments contemplated by Article 8 of the Covenant cannot achieve its full effect for world-peace unless it be general, desires to emphasise the importance of regional agreements for the purpose of reducing armaments—agreements which, if necessary, might even go beyond the measures decided upon in respect of general reduction; and requests the Council to ask the Temporary Mixed Commission to take into consideration, during its subsequent work, the possibility of recommending the conclusion of similar agreements to States which might be concerned.

XVI. The Assembly, considering that moral disarmament is an essential preliminary condition of material disarmament, and that this moral disarmament can only be achieved in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and security;

Declares that such confidence cannot be attained so long as the world continues to suffer from disorganisation of the exchanges, economic chaos and unemployment, and that the only method of remedying these evils is to put an end to the uncertainty which prevails regarding the means for the restoration of the devastated regions and the settlement of the inter-Allied debts;

Expresses the hope that, in so far as these questions can be regulated by the unaided efforts of the European nations, the Governments signatories of the international treaties and agreements which deal with these questions, and within the framework of which they must be envisaged, will achieve as soon as possible a general settlement of the problem of reparations and inter-Allied debts.

It further recommends that the Council shall devote constant attention to every effort made in this direction by the Governments concerned, it being understood that it can only usefully assist in the solution of these problems if requested to do so by the Governments in question.

Work of Committee No. IV. Budget and Financial Questions.

50. The most important step taken this year by the Fourth Committee was the approval of the new regulations for the financial administration of the League, which had been drafted by the Commission of Control, which is, in future, to be called the Supervisory Commission* which are given in Annex (ii) of Appendix I. These regulations mark a very great advance from the position which existed in the early days of the League, and if properly administered by the Secretary-General and his officials, to whom a good deal of power is given, should produce satisfactory results. Most unfortunately, a proposal in the original draft that interest should be charged on the contributions of States which were in arrear was defeated through the opposition of several Members of the League, which threatened to result in blocking the adoption of the whole of the regulations if their views on this point were not accepted. It was also unfortunate that the Committee were not prepared to adopt a proposal of the French delegate that the sums paid in successive budgets towards the establishment of a working capital fund should be considered as loans made by each Member of the League to assist the working of the Treasury, and that when a new Member entered the League that Member should pay to the working capital funds a sum equal to that furnished by Members whose contributions were comparable to its own. This suggestion has, however, been referred for further examination by the Supervisory Commission.

The Assembly adopted the financial regulations in the following Resolution :—

"Whereas the recommendation of the Assembly adopted on 17th December 1920, with Assembly Res No. 35, (29 St regard to the administration of the finances of the League of Nations, as modified by the recommendation of 4th October 1921, requested the Council to prepare, for the annual session of the Assembly in 1922, a final resolution concerning the administration of the finances of the League of Nations :

"And whereas the Council requested the Supervisory Commission to prepare a draft of such resolution, and the Commission has submitted such draft, which has been considered by the Assembly :

"The Assembly of the League of Nations adopts the Regulations† for the administration of the finances of the League of Nations."

51. A special Sub-Committee of Committee IV was appointed to investigate the question of unpaid contributions. This Committee examined representatives of all those States whose contributions were in arrear. It appeared that, on the whole, the most important cause of non-payment was the continued operation of the scale of allocation of the Universal Postal Union, which laid on many small States an inequitable burden. Most of the delegates declared that their countries intended to pay the arrears as soon as possible, and some promised immediate payment. It is somewhat regrettable that, in dealing with this delicate question, the Committee did not find itself able to adopt any more helpful conclusion than that the Secretary-General should invite those countries which found themselves unable to pay the amount due in one sum to liquidate their obligations by paying a supplementary amount (without interest) in addition to the sum due each year under the new scale,

* The Commission was composed in 1922 as follows :—M. G. Noblemaire (Member of French Parliament), Chairman ; Dr. J. A. Nederbragt (Head of Economic Division of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands), Rapporteur ; Sir James Allen (High Commissioner for New Zealand in London) ; Dr. Stephen Osusky (Minister of Czecho-Slovakia in Paris) ; M. Luis Waddington (Financial Adviser to Chilean Legation in London).

† See page 56.

until the whole amount of their debt had been adjusted. As regards some of these States the Secretary-General was to propose to the Commission of Control a solution best fitted to their exceptional circumstances.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

"The Assembly approves the principles and proposals which are laid down in the report of the Fourth Committee (A. 145, 1922 X) concerning the contributions still remaining to be paid for the fiscal years up to January 1922."

The Report of Committee IV referred to therein merely reproduced the findings of the Sub-Committee summarised above.

52. A Sub-Committee of the Fourth Committee also examined the question of the accommodation for the International Labour Office. During the proceedings of the Assembly the Swiss Federation and the Canton State of Geneva offered to the League premises adjacent to the present Secretariat of an area of 4,493 square metres, and a property in the Rue de Lausanne on the shores of the lake of an area of 35,845 square metres. On the advice of the Committee the Assembly unanimously decided to accept these generous offers. The first property seemed suitable for the eventual building of an Assembly Hall adjoining the Secretariat (Hotel National), and the second for a building to accommodate the International Labour Office. It is suggested that provision for these buildings should be made in the budget of the League, commencing in 1926, as soon as payment for the Hotel National is completed.

53. The Committee was not able to make much progress with an important suggestion by the French delegate that rules should be laid down to ensure that expenditure which was incurred only in the interests of certain members of the League should not be charged to the general budget, though a resolution confirming the validity of this principle was again passed by the Committee and the Assembly.

The Committee received too late to deal with it a report of the Salaries Adjustment Committee on the subject of the deferred pay and pension scheme for the Secretariat and International Labour Office, and it was decided to defer consideration of this important question until the next Assembly.

54. The consideration of the budget of the League for 1923 was not expedited as much as it should have been by the preliminary work done by the Supervisory Commission. Most of the ground covered by that Commission was gone over again in the Fourth Committee, almost every item of expenditure being carefully scrutinised. Among the leading critics were Colonel Ward (British Empire) and Sir Joseph Cook (Australia). It seems desirable, if in future the Fourth Committee is not to waste its time in discussing details rather than general principles, that some machinery should be devised by which the criticisms which the Members of the League desire to offer on the details of the budget should be made through the Supervisory Commission before that body recommends the budget for consideration by the Assembly; though of course the final control must rest with the Assembly acting through its Fourth Committee. At one of the early meetings of the Committee His Highness the Jam Sahib expressed warm approval of the work of the Supervisory Commission, and congratulated M. Noblenaire and his colleagues on their valuable report and on their work, which had done much to eliminate those financial imperfections which had caused former Indian delegations to occupy the position of somewhat keen critics. Among the proposals suggested by the Supervisory Commission, which the Fourth Committee and the Assembly eventually adopted, were the substitution of the Swiss franc for the gold franc in all financial transactions of the League from the 1st January 1923, and the adoption of the Governmental system of accounts in place of the commercial system hitherto used.

55. The following table shows under the main heads :—Expenditure for 1921, Budget for 1922, Budget for 1923 after scrutiny by the Supervisory Commission, alterations made in the Budget for 1923 by the Fourth Committee, Supplementary Estimates approved by the Fourth Committee arising out of recommendations of other Committees of the Assembly, and the Budget for 1923 as finally passed by the Assembly.

A.—Secretariat and Special Organisations.

PART I—CURRENT EXPENDITURE.

CHAPTER.	1921 Expenditure.	1922 Budget.	1923 Budget Estimate of Secretary-General as modified by Commission of Control.	Alterations made by Fourth Committee of Assembly.	Supplementary Credits.	1923 Budget as finally passed.
I. Assembly and Council Sessions.	Gold francs. 751,763	Gold francs. 1,000,000	Swiss francs. 779,000	—79,000	...	Swiss francs. 700,000
II. General Services of Secretariat.	6,086,003	6,136,730	6,616,294	+164,151	+60,500	6,840,945
III. Special Organisations of the League.	1,753,880	4,591,375	5,430,507	—435,682	*+372,000	*5,366,825
IV. Refund of Expenses (Vilna Plebiscite).	...	...	263,260	+159,000	...	422,260
V. Profit and loss by Exchange.	174,286	200,000	200,000	...	...	200,000

PART II.—CAPITAL EXPENDITURE.

VI. Buildings, Permanent Equipment, &c.	1,660,367	1,310,230	1,270,167	—7,151	...	1,263,016
VII. Working Capital	1,890,000	...	500,000	...	...	500,000

B.—Permanent Court of International Justice and International Labour Organisation.

I. Permanent Court of International Justice.	339,603	1,500,000	2,000,000	—120,000	...	1,880,000
II. International Labour Organisation.	7,010,000	†7,500,000	8,188,962	+4,000	+7,500	8,200,462
Washington Conference (1919)	20,968	...	...	...	+300,000	300,000 (Conference for extension of Washington Agreement).‡
Total Budgets	19,686,870	22,238,335	25,248,190	—314,682	+740,000	25,673,508

* Includes 50,000 for Intellectual Co-operation, passed by majority vote of Assembly, validity of which is in doubt.

† 1,364,390 of this to be provided from surplus from 1921.

‡ See para. XII. (a) of Resolution on p. 24.

56. In the discussion in the Assembly on the budget Sir James Allen (New Zealand), made an interesting statement as to the financial position of the League, in which he pointed out that the amount of contributions in arrears on 30th September 1922 was 14,754,000 francs (including 9,614,000 francs owing for the year 1922). Estimating a receipt of a further 3,000,000 francs during the last three months of 1922, it might be anticipated that the current account of the League on 31st December 1922 would show a deficit of 1,825,000 francs which would absorb the whole of the available balance of the "working capital," and still leave a small deficit of 150,000 francs.

As regards 1923, making certain assumptions as to the rate at which the contributions for that year would come in, but not allowing for any receipts

during the year in respect of the 11,751,000 francs of arrears, he estimated that the position was likely to be as follows :—

Quarter ending	Expenditure exceeds Revenue by	Revenue exceeds Expenditure by
	Francs.	Francs.
31st March 1923	3,142,000	...
30th June 1923	312,000	...
30th September 1923 . . . . .	...	1,500,000
31st December 1923 . . . . .	...	1,804,000

The deficit for the first two quarters may be met by borrowing 3,400,000 francs from the Bank, practically the whole of which could be repaid by the end of the year. 1924 would start with a "working capital" of only 500,000 francs, voted in the 1923 budget, instead of 3,500,000 francs considered necessary by the Supervisory Commission.

If all the arrear contributions were paid up during 1923, then the "working capital" would be restored, and a balance of 8,718,000 francs left at the disposal of the Assembly.

He urged that 1923 contributions should be sent in as early as possible in the year, and arrears paid as soon as possible, in order to avoid the necessity of borrowing from the Bank.

57. The Chilian delegate, who was supported by other South American States, urged strongly that expenditure should be limited so as to ensure that the amount contributed by each State should not be increased for a period of three or five years, and asked that the Council should submit a proposal to this effect to the next Assembly.

58. It was mentioned in para. 39 above that when the budget came up for approval an increase of 50,000 francs was approved by a majority vote in the Supplementary Estimates for the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The total budget, as increased by this figure, was accepted by the Assembly unanimously. Immediately afterwards M. Trygger raised a point of order, and said that he was not satisfied that the decision to increase the estimate was valid, as the amendment had been passed by a majority vote only, and not unanimously. There are no very clear rules of procedure in passing the budget, and it did not seem possible, on the spur of the moment or at such a late period in the proceedings of the Assembly, to reach any final decision on the constitutional issue involved, and the Assembly therefore unanimously accepted M. Trygger's proposal that the Council should be asked to examine the point and to decide on the action to be finally taken as regards the amount of the vote for the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. It is to be hoped that the result will be that next year definite rules of budget procedure will be laid down.

59. The Report of the Fourth Committee on the Accounts for 1921, Budget for 1923, Report of the Supervisory Committee, and other matters is given in Appendix II, Annex (ix), page 98, which also gives the resolutions adopted by the Assembly.

Work of Committee V.—Social and General Questions.

ESPERANTO.

60 On the 15th September 1921 the Second Assembly, resuming the discussion of the question of Esperanto as an auxiliary world-language, which had been adjourned by the First Assembly, adopted a resolution instructing the Secretariat to draw up a complete report for submission to the Third Assembly. The findings of this report, which are definitely in favour of Esperanto, met with considerable criticism in Committee V. Professor Gilbert Murray submitted draft resolutions dealing, firstly with propaganda, and secondly, with the approval and encouragement by the League of the teaching of Esperanto. He was supported by some members of the Committee, among

whom the delegates of China, Japan and Persia were conspicuous. These representatives urged that the League of Nations should make proposals to Governments to extend the use of Esperanto in view of the greater difficulty in their countries of learning Western languages. On the other hand the Norwegian, Brazilian, Swedish and certain other delegates declared themselves entirely opposed to any intervention in such matters by the League of Nations. Professor Gilbert Murray's proposal that States Members should be invited to consider at the forthcoming Postal Conference the possibility of admitting Esperanto in the postal and telegraphic services was rejected in favour of a more cautious view presented by the French delegate. Mrs. Coombe-Tennant stated that the British Postmaster-General was not prepared to accept the suggestion as far as Great Britain was concerned. She also drew attention to certain statements in the Secretariat's Report regarding the teaching of Esperanto in Great Britain—statements which she thought made the Report of appear somewhat biased—and proposed that Chapter V, which summarised the conclusions arrived at by the Secretariat, should be omitted. The Report of the Secretariat, subject to amendments proposed by Mrs. Coombe-Tennant, was adopted unanimously. The Committee finally decided by a majority to present to the Assembly the following Resolutions, which the Assembly adopted, parts I (a), (b), (c) unanimously, and the second part by 26 against 2 votes:—

1. The Assembly adopts the report of the Secretariat on Esperanto as an auxiliary international language, subject to the following amendments:—

Assembly
Resolution No.
(21 Sept.).

(a) That the corrections communicated by the British Delegation be made, and that Chapter V of the report be omitted;

(b) That an annex be added to the report, consisting of the whole of the brief and impartial report made by the Paris Chamber of Commerce* on 9th February 1921, of which certain passages only have been quoted;

(c) That the resolutions adopted by the Committee be annexed to the report.

2. The questions relating to the teaching of Esperanto shall be referred to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, in order that that Committee may give its opinion on the various aspects of the problem of an auxiliary international language.

OPIMUM.

61. The Fifth Committee dealt with various questions affecting opium at the first and second meetings. Mlle. Bonnevie (Norway), who had given material assistance to India last year, and who has both a knowledge of the subject and robust common sense, was elected Vice-Chairman. Prince Charoon (Siam) proposed a series of resolutions, based on the report of the Opium Advisory Committee, which were unanimously accepted; they introduced no new matter and call for no comment. In the course of a somewhat ill-informed discussion of these recommendations various points were raised. Professor Gilbert Murray (South Africa), dissatisfied with the small extent to which the import and export certificate system had already been adopted by Governments, and impressed by the fact that no control was at present exercisable over exports from Turkey and Persia, wished to bring pressure to bear, in order to force Turkey and Persia to put into force the Hague Convention, and to

* The Paris Chamber of Commerce appointed a Committee in 1920 to examine the problem and unanimously adopted the following conclusions:—

"Whereas transactions throughout the world would be greatly helped by the use of an international auxiliary language;

"Whereas it is in no way intended to prejudice national languages and especially the French language, the literature of which, closely bound up with our history, is rich in imperishable works of genius;

"Whereas the auxiliary language should on the contrary be instituted as a sort of international code language to act as an intermediary between the nations, and should, for this reason, be capable of being learned easily and quickly;

"Whereas Esperanto appears to unite the requisite qualities of clearness and methodical simplicity as regards pronunciation and grammar, vocabulary and richness of expression:

"The Paris Chamber of Commerce—

"(1) Decides to introduce optional instruction in Esperanto in its commercial school;

"(2) Expresses the wish that this instruction should be made general in France and abroad, and that the Chambers of Commerce of all countries, with a view to assisting commercial intercourse, should seek to promote the rapid spread of the international auxiliary language."

induce all Governments to accept the import and export certificate system. His suggestion was that all signatories of the Convention should agree to allow imports only from countries where that Convention was in force, and where the certificate system had been accepted.

India was entirely in accord with the principle of this proposal, but as it involved difficult and complicated technical considerations, Lord Chelmsford proposed, in agreement with Professor Murray, an amendment referring the question for the consideration of the Opium Advisory Committee. This was unanimously accepted. It became clear, in the course of the discussions on this point, that Japan would not have agreed to Professor Murray's resolution, and that the Committee as a whole had begun to feel grave doubts whether it was a wise policy to put forward in Committee far-reaching proposals which it could not in fact subject to close, or technically efficient, examination.

The Persian delegate renewed the suggestion he made last year for propaganda work against opium to be undertaken by the League of Nations; this suggestion was supported by M. Ador (Switzerland) and by other delegates, but was finally dropped when it had been pointed out that the matter had already been dealt with by the Advisory Committee. The delegate for Persia, in the course of his speeches, insisted that Persia exported no opium; this statement was, of course, challenged, but the matter was not pressed when it became obvious that the Committee knew the facts, and that Prince Arfa-ed-Dowleh's assertion was regarded merely with amusement. The delegate for China (Mr. Chu) strongly pressed a proposal to appoint representatives of Turkey and Persia to the Opium Advisory Committee; the futility of this suggestion was pointed out, and the Committee was clearly against it. The matter was eventually, and after considerable discussion, withdrawn. M. Reynald (France) again pressed the point taken by M. Hennessy last year, urging that drugs of synthetic origin should be declared to be covered by the Hague Convention or that a new Convention should be framed; it was obvious from his remarks that he was unaware of the action which had already been taken by the Opium Advisory Committee in the matter. The position was explained; and the opportunity thus presented was again taken to express the view that the Committee would be on very dangerous ground, and might easily render itself ridiculous, if it attempted to put forward substantive motions of a technical character, or involving technical issues. M. Reynald's proposal was then dropped, but an attempt to induce Mr. Chu (China) to withdraw a motion he had proposed, and which amounted merely to a loose and inaccurate rendering of Article 9 of the Hague Convention, was less successful, although the sense of the Committee appeared to be against him. It was eventually agreed that Mr. Chu's motion should be circulated, and discussed at the next meeting.

One of the best speeches delivered was by Mrs. Coombe-Tennant (British Empire), who dealt with the more important of the issues which had been raised during the discussions in a sensible, broad-minded manner. Apart from the absurdities of the proposals of the Chinese and Persian delegates, India was not in substantial opposition to any of the resolutions moved, while the information available as to the actualities of the position enabled it to prevent some gross blunders which would have seriously injured the prestige of the Committee.

62. At the third meeting of the Fifth Committee, Lord Chelmsford dealt with the more general aspects of the opium problem. He pointed out that the Hague Convention, though it had only been in effective operation for about one year and nine months, had already led to important practical results. The position as regards the morphia traffic in the Far East had been elucidated, and there were good reasons to think that the grave evils connected with that traffic would not now be permitted to recur. That, in itself, was an achievement of the greatest importance; but there were many other indications that the Hague Convention was gradually leading to a firmer control of the drug traffic generally. It was pointed out that the stoppage or cessation of abuses would necessarily react on the demand for opium, and interesting statistics were supplied to the Committee showing how the acreage in India, the quantity manufactured at the Government factory there, the quantity exported to all

destinations, and the quantity sold by auction, had all fallen rapidly in the course of the last few years. The point was pressed that the Hague Convention, though practically operative for less than two years, had already borne substantial fruit; there was no reason to think that, given honest and efficient administration, the Convention would prove inadequate for the suppression of all abuses connected with the drug traffic. We required universal acceptance of that Convention; universal adoption of the import and export certificate system; and sincere and effective administration of its provisions. Given that, the grave problems now before the League could undoubtedly be satisfactorily dealt with.

Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland again pressed the view that nothing of value could be achieved unless and until the legitimate requirements of each country as regards cocaine, morphia, &c., had been definitely decided; and he reiterated the suggestion that the Health Committee of the League should be pressed to produce such quantitative data. M. Velghe, of the Health Committee, poured a douche of cold common sense on this suggestion; however advisable it might be to have such data, they could not be given at present; time, much labour, and much patient investigation of the results achieved by Governments sincerely desirous of controlling the traffic would be required before figures of any value could be put forward. In the course of the discussion, several delegates stated that their Governments were prepared to adopt the import and export certificate system; Lord Chelmsford urged, as a practical measure of much value, that each delegate should at once get into touch with his Government on the subject, with the object of announcing, if possible at the forthcoming Assembly meetings, the adhesion of his Government to the system, and their decision to adopt it by the 1st January 1923. This suggestion was generally approved, and was followed up by the Secretariat, letters being sent to the delegates emphasising the importance of the matter. It is satisfactory to learn that after the conclusion of the Assembly's sessions a considerable number of States have since announced their adhesion to the system. In speaking on this question, Mr. Chu again pressed the view that China had done everything she could do, but his speech produced very little effect; the facts as regards China are gradually becoming known; and, while the Committee respects Mr. Chu's personal energy and sincerity, they clearly do not share his strongly held and strongly expressed view that China has clean hands in the matter; that she is solely sinned against, and in no way sinning.

At the third meeting, Sir A. Steel-Maitland brought forward a resolution (of which he had given notice at the first meeting) inviting the Governments "of those countries into which the import of opium is at present limited not to increase the quantity of those imports until they have ascertained and reported to the League the estimated amounts, respectively, of their legitimate consumption." This was stated to be directed against Hong Kong, and to relate to the request from that Government for an increased supply from India. He stated the case carefully and temperately. There was, of course, no attack, open or covert, on India. Mrs. Coombe-Tennant replied in an excellent speech; the facts were clearly stated, and an undertaking was given that the actual consumption in Hong Kong, even with the increased imports, would not be allowed to exceed the consumption of the last few years. Mr. Chu again intervened in the debate; he protested violently against "the poisoning of China" by Indian opium imported into Hong Kong; and made a long and impassioned appeal to allow no increase in the Hong Kong imports. The Indian delegate then pointed out that China's argument was clearly unsustainable, as, on the lowest estimate, China was at present producing 754 times the supplementary quantity asked for by Hong Kong. Mrs. Coombe-Tennant supported this view, and said that the crux of the situation was the smuggling of opium into Hong Kong from China. Mr. Chu, entirely unimpressed, merely reiterated his previous arguments. Eventually, Sir A. Steel-Maitland withdrew his motion, in view of the assurances given by the British representative, and the discussion terminated.

Mr. Chu then brought forward the resolution referred to in para. 61 above, but in view of the criticisms on the resolution in its original form, he had re-cast it entirely. In its new shape it was quite unobjectionable, though of no practical use; and in the circumstances formal support was accorded to the revised resolution, which will be found below. The discussion then terminated, but noteworthy declarations were made by the delegates for Switzerland and Persia. The former anticipated the ratification and effective adoption of the Hague Convention by Switzerland towards the end of this year, and he intimated that his country proposed to bring into effect, at the same time, the import and export certificate system. The Persian delegate informed the Committee that he had telegraphed to his Government, urging them to put the Convention into force, and to withdraw their reservation as regards Article 3 (a).

63. The discussion of the report of the Fifth Committee as regards opium [which is given in Appendix II, Annex (xi)] did not long occupy the attention of the Assembly. The debate was opened by Lord Chelmsford, who laid stress on the necessity for international co-operation, for universal acceptance of the Hague Convention, and of the import and export certificate system, and for honest and effective administration, if any real progress was to be made. Despite goodwill, things were not moving as fast or as well as they should, because of delays in ratifying agreements; delays in putting these agreements into force; delays in furnishing the statistical information without which the Opium Advisory Committee could not get to work. The Hague Convention was adequate, so far as could be seen, to cope with all the abuses connected with the traffic, provided it were universally accepted and administered in an honest and sincere way. He appealed to all the delegates to move their Governments to correct and avoid obvious defects in the administrative machinery, which were so hindering the work, and which retarded so seriously the attainment of the end they all had in view. His Highness the Maharajah Jam Sahib of Nawanagar followed, the next day, with a speech which impressed upon the delegates the Indian point of view as regards the use of opium in the East. It was a solace, a sedative, a household remedy; abuse was very rare indeed; and its normal use was in many respects comparable with the use of tea, or wine, or beer in Western countries. These two speeches are given in full in Appendix IV. Mr. Chu and Sir A. Steel-Maitland also spoke, but their remarks call for no comment. The debate ended, somewhat unfortunately, on a strong speech by Colonel Ward. He associated himself entirely with the views of the second Indian delegate; he also felt that there was a danger that the organisation of the League of Nations might be captured, or widely influenced, by societies with extremist views as regards opium; he laid stress on the usual inability of such societies to distinguish between "use" and "abuse"; and he made a strong claim for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the individual. The speech brought into the field of discussion considerations which are but too often lost sight of; yet the general effect was probably unfortunate, inasmuch as there was no reason for such a warning at this stage and no real necessity for it. The result was that the debate ended on a wrong note.

The following Resolutions were adopted by the Assembly unanimously:—

"1. The Assembly being convinced that the most practical means of exercising control over the traffic in dangerous drugs is by means of the import and export certificate system, and believing that only international action can make this system a success, urges on all Governments the vital necessity of adopting this import and export certificate system without delay.

"2. The Assembly inclines to the view that the Governments which are Parties to the International Opium Convention should be asked to agree not to issue licences for the import of opium, or the other drugs to which the Convention applies, from any country which has not yet ratified and put into force the Convention, and adopted the system for the control of exports and imports approved by the Second Assembly in para. 1 (3) of the resolution adopted on 30th September 1921, and previously approved by the Council on 25th June 1921. The Assembly considers this question important and urgent, but, recognising the complicated and technical character of the issues involved, it is of opinion that the matter should be examined in detail by the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium, before any definite action is taken. It therefore requests the Council to convene a meeting of the Advisory Committee, as soon as

possible, to study the question, and should that Committee report in favour of the proposal, the Council is asked to act at the earliest possible date on the recommendations of the Advisory Committee in the form approved by the Council, and without further reference to the Assembly if the Council considers such reference unnecessary.

"3. The Assembly being of the opinion that the first step necessary in limiting the world's supply of dangerous drugs to legitimate uses is a knowledge of the amount of drugs required by each country for internal consumption, urges the Governments to supply the returns asked for with the least possible delay and with the greatest accuracy in their power. The various Governments should, with a view to allowing comparison to be made, state clearly the system adopted in arriving at the estimate, and should supply a secondary statement showing estimated consumption per 100,000 inhabitants.

"4. The Assembly of the League of Nations again desires to emphasise the view expressed in the report of the Advisory Committee that so long as the drugs to which Part III., particularly Article 9, of the Opium Convention applies are produced in quantities exceeding the legitimate requirements, there is a great danger that the surplus will find its way into illegitimate channels, and that the control of production, so as to limit it to the amount required for medical and legitimate purposes, is the most effective method of putting a stop to the illicit traffic. It recommends that the enquiry now proceeding into the world's legitimate requirements should be pressed forward as rapidly as possible, and expresses the hope that a provisional estimate and scheme will be submitted to the Assembly next year.

"5. The Assembly, convinced of the urgent necessity of securing the fullest possible co-operation in the work of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other dangerous drugs, and considering the fact that the United States of America is one of the most important manufacturing and importing countries, recommends to the Council of the League that it should address a pressing invitation to the Government of the United States to nominate a member to serve on the Committee."

DEPORTATION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN TURKEY AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES.

64. Dr. Kennedy, the Chairman of the Commission of Enquiry, who was appointed after the First Assembly to carry out investigations into the alleged cases of deportation of women and children in Turkey and the neighbouring countries during the Great War with a view to their subsequent rescue, introduced his report to the Committee. The Second Assembly had recommended the appointment of a High Commissioner to proceed to the active rescue of women and children, but by the authority of the Council the Commission of Enquiry were charged with the duties which it was intended the High Commissioner should carry out. He, Dr. Kennedy, said that the number of deportations and massacres had not decreased as time went on. He had established an office and a staff, had taken over the neutral house already established at Constantinople, secured the support of the Allied police and other authorities, and had proceeded to the active work of reclamation. Committee V. were of opinion that Dr. Kennedy, in conducting the practical work of reclamation, was inspired with the same motives, and had the same conception of his task, as that of the Assembly itself. The Committee's report to the Assembly drew special attention to the work of Miss Jeppe at Aleppo, who estimated that she would be able to reach 30,000 Armenian women and children and recover them from the houses in which they were detained, but for this purpose it was essential she should have more monetary assistance from the League. The Committee recommended the following Resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the Assembly:—

"1. The Assembly approves the conclusions of the report presented by Dr. Kennedy, Chairman of the Commission of Enquiry on Deported Women and Children, and is of opinion that the League of Nations should continue its work in this direction. Assembly Resc No. 27 (28 Ser

"2. The Assembly requests the Council to urge the Governments responsible for any territories, either under mandate or under Allied control, where members of the Commission for the reclamation of women and children are working, to instruct their officials in these territories to give strong support and assistance to the Commission and its members.

"3. A further sum of 1,500*l.* shall be allocated to the funds of the Commission, in order that the valuable work at present being undertaken by the Commission in Aleppo may be continued."

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

65. Mrs. Coombe-Tennant (British Empire) presented to Committee V a report from the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children.

The report dealt with the following matters :—The ratifications of the 1904—1921 Agreements and Conventions, the Questionnaire issued in 1921, International Voluntary organisations, the Central Authorities set up in various countries, the method of dealing with information, the employment of women abroad at theatres, music-halls, etc., the International Emigration Commission, juvenile courts, annual reports, the provisional budget for 1923, and the Committee's rules of procedure. It also contained the following resolutions :—

" 1. The Advisory Committee recommends that those members of the Committee whose Governments are not parties to the Convention of 1921 should ask their Governments to take the necessary action without delay. The Advisory Committee further recommends that all Members of the League which have not signed the Convention should be urged to do so as soon as possible.

" 2. The Advisory Committee recommends that, in view of the great interest which both Germany and the United States have shown in the question of the traffic in women and children and of emigration, both these countries should be invited by the Council of the League to appoint members to serve on the Advisory Committee.

" 3. The Advisory Committee expresses the opinion that, in accordance with the conditions originally suggested by the International Bureau, it is desirable that, in the formation of National Committees, each Committee should be as widely representative as possible and should be formed irrespective of creed or political opinion.

" 4. The Advisory Committee recommends that the Council should urge all Governments signatory to the Agreement of 1904 or the Convention of 1921, to appoint a Central Authority under Article 1 of the 1904 Agreement, if they have not already done so. These Central Authorities should be attached to an executive service and it should be their duty to communicate with each other.

" A list of the Authorities should be circulated from time to time to all Members of the League and to all Parties to the Agreement or Convention.

" The Advisory Committee is of opinion that the Secretariat of the League of Nations should, in view of the responsibility placed upon the League by Article 23 (c) of the Covenant, keep in close touch with these Authorities.

" 5. The Advisory Committee recommends that, in the case of women and girls seeking theatrical engagements abroad, the competent authorities should be invited to warn them before passports are issued against the risk of accepting such engagements without preliminary enquiry, and should offer to advise them as to the reasonableness of these contracts. Similar steps should be taken by representatives of the Governments abroad when a woman proposes to accept a fresh contract in another foreign country.

" The Voluntary Associations, including professional associations, might, with great advantage, be asked to take part in this work.

" 6. The Advisory Committee recommends that Governments should be asked to consider the desirability of proposing legislation to protect minors who are seeking employment abroad.

" 7. The Advisory Committee recommends that Governments should undertake to ascertain the conditions under which girls are employed to perform in theatres, music-halls, &c., and should exercise supervision as far as possible over such employment in order to secure that no attempt is made by the management of theatres or music-halls to induce the girls to lead immoral lives and that the hours of employment and conditions of the contract are reasonable; foreign girls should receive the same protection as nationals, and where a foreign girl visits another country to undertake a temporary contract, facilities should be given her to return to her home at the end of the contract.

" 8. Copies of the three preceding resolutions should be forwarded to the International Labour Office.

" 9. The Advisory Committee expresses its complete concurrence in the principle enunciated by the International Emigration Commission in No. 17 of the resolutions in its report, that measures proposed for the protection of emigrants should apply equally, so far as they are appropriate, to women and children as to men.

" 10. The Advisory Committee recognises that a strict supervision of the conditions under which emigrants pass from one country to another is likely to exercise a strong influence in checking the traffic in women and children. It welcomes, therefore, generally the measures which the International Emigration Commission proposes should be taken, especially those contained in Resolutions 4, 6, 10, 12, 13, 16, 22 and 26.

" 11. The Advisory Committee is glad to observe that in Resolution 19 the International Emigration Commission proposes that the question of protecting emigrant women and children should be fully considered by the International Labour Conference. The Advisory

Committee would like to suggest that the following matters, among others, might receive consideration :—

- (a) The desirability of securing close co-operation between Governments and private shipping companies ;
- (b) The possibility of safeguarding women engaged for employment in a foreign country against unfair and unreasonable contracts and of providing for their return to their country, if they wish, at the end of a definite period ;
- (c) In the framing of measures for the protection of immigrant women and children, regard should be paid not only to material conditions, such as are suggested in Resolution 22 of the report of the Emigration Commission, but also to moral considerations.

" 12. As the questions relating to emigration have a close connection with that of the traffic in women and children, the Advisory Committee recommends that its Secretary should be invited to be present at the meeting of the International Labour Conference when these questions are discussed.

" 13. The Advisory Committee adopts the present budget for social questions and the traffic in women and children for the first year, while expressing the wish that expenditure may be reduced, if possible, in the next financial year."

In Committee V. Lord Chelmsford stated that a resolution in favour of ratification of the 1921 Convention had been passed by both Houses of the Indian Legislature with the proviso that India reserved the right to substitute the age of 16 years for those given in the final Protocol of the 1910 Convention and in Article 5 of the 1921 Convention, *viz.*, 20 and 21 respectively. That reservation had been made by other Eastern countries on account of the much earlier age at which maturity was reached in the East. The Convention had been duly ratified by India, and the Government of India, Lord Chelmsford stated, were taking steps to pass the laws required to give effect to the Convention.

The delegate for New Zealand drew the attention of the Committee to the serious problem which arises from prostitution in seaports. He did not move a resolution, but he expressed the hope that every Government would make careful enquiry into the conditions prevailing at their own ports and that it might be found possible to take some international action at a further session of the Assembly. The Polish delegate brought forward the question of the employment of foreign women as prostitutes in licensed brothels and stated that Poland has decided to abolish licensed houses. After a discussion it was decided that the matter was one which ought to be considered by the Advisory Committee, and the second resolution, given below, was passed unanimously by the Committee. The French delegate stated, however, that there was nothing in French legislation which allowed such a proposal to be put into practice, but he agreed that the question should be referred to the Advisory Committee.

Committee V., in its report to the Assembly, drew attention to (1) the importance of early ratification of the Convention of 1921 by States who had not yet ratified ; (2) the fact that the carrying out of the administrative measures prescribed by the Conventions depend to a large extent on the appointment in each State of Central Authorities ; (3) the scheme for the co-ordination of international work in connection with the traffic, under which scheme the Secretariat of the League will keep closely in touch with the Central Authorities as well as with voluntary organisations ; (4) the question of affording greater protection to women who accept engagements abroad to perform in theatres, music-halls, etc. ; (5) the annual report which Governments will be asked to furnish.

66. The Assembly approved the report of Committee V. and unanimously adopted the following Resolutions, the Spanish delegate abstaining. The Count de Gimeno (Spain) said that public opinion in Spain was divided concerning the system of licensed houses, and he would be obliged to abstain from voting on the resolution, though as a medical man he was in favour of it.

The Assembly decides :—

1. That the report of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children (A. 9 (1) 1922) be adopted.

2. That, in view of the fact that the system of State regulation which exists in certain countries is thought in many quarters to encourage the traffic in women, the Advisory Committee should be asked by the Council to consider whether, pending the abolition of the system, it could be agreed that no foreign woman should be employed or carry on her profession as a prostitute in any licensed houses, and that the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on the subject should be included in its next report to the Council.

The situation to date, as regards the signatures and ratifications of and adhesions to the arrangement of 1914, the Convention of 1910, and the Convention of 1921, is shown in Appendix II., Annex (x). The Convention of 1921 has been signed by 33 and ratified by 10 States. During the discussions in Committee the delegates of Greece, Cuba, Japan, Italy, Roumania, China, Portugal, Switzerland, Serb-Croat-Slovene, Sweden and Chile announced that their respective Governments hoped shortly to ratify the Convention of 1921.

RUSSIAN REFUGEES.

67. The question of Russian refugees was placed upon the agenda of the Assembly for the first time since the League of Nations began the consideration of this problem. On the 4th September 1921, Dr. Nansen accepted the post of High Commissioner to co-ordinate the actions of Governments and of private organisations for the relief of the refugees. His first duty was to find a practical solution of the problem; to bring material aid to refugees in distress, and to assure co-ordination of the efforts made by the organisations already working for this purpose. Conferences were convened in August and September 1921, at which resolutions were adopted to serve as guiding principles for his work. Afterwards Dr. Nansen submitted to the Council various reports on the progress of his work—the maintenance of necessitous refugees—an enterprise which the High Commissioner estimated in August 1921 would require, approximately, two hundred million francs; the evacuation of Russian refugees and their distribution in countries which are in a position to offer them the means of living, and steps for the definition and regulation, by means of an agreement between the Governments specially interested, of the legal status of Russian refugees. Dr. Nansen, after negotiations and discussions, proposed a special identity certificate for the refugees, but several Governments raised objections of an administrative and political character which hindered its adoption. During the discussion of the High Commissioner's report in Committee V., several members announced that their respective Governments had given their approval in principle to the identity certificate passport approved by the Council, but other delegates intimated that they were obliged to propose certain modifications. The Committee testified to the success with which Dr. Nansen—when in course of organising the movement of which he had undertaken the direction—had devoted his efforts to alleviating the distress of the refugees of Constantinople, numbering about 25,000. His efforts to secure the admission of Russian refugees into overseas countries had encountered obstacles which were hindering the practical solution to the problem: replies from Governments in most cases were disappointing. Certain members of the Committee reserved their opinions regarding the advisability of repatriation. The following Resolutions were proposed by the Czecho-Slovakia delegate:—

"The Assembly having heard the report of the High Commissioner of the League for Russian Refugees on the work which he has accomplished during the past year, wishes to express its entire approval of the way in which the High Commissioner has discharged the duties laid upon him and to record its high appreciation of the services he has rendered to the refugees and to the League.

"The Assembly further adopts the following Resolutions:—

"1. It invites the Council to request the Governments of the Members of the League to continue to lend to the Delegates of the High Commissioner in their respective territories the support and assistance which they have hitherto given.

"2. It invites the Council to request the Governments of the Members of the League to place, as far as possible, the services of their national labour exchanges at the disposal of the Russian refugees, in order that they may be able to find productive employment and to secure all possible liberty of movement to refugees to travel within their territories in search of work.

"3. It invites the Council to draw the attention of the Governments of the Members of the League to the importance of the system of identity certificates adopted at the Conference on the subject held at Geneva in July 1922, and to request those Governments which have not yet given a favourable reply to consider whether they cannot, without delay, bring his system into force.

"4. It invites the Council to urge the Governments of all the great immigration countries to relax their immigration restrictions in favour of Russian refugees and to come to the rescue of the overcrowded European labour markets by making firm offers of employment in their territories to the Russian refugees."

The Serb-Croat-Slovene delegate moved the following addition :—

"The Committee requests the Council to provide for international co-operation in States where Russian refugees were congregated in order to assist these States in helping sick and invalid refugees or those who are not in a position to find employment on account of old age."

The Australian delegate was not disposed to accept the second and fourth Resolutions proposed by the Committee. Resolution 2 was contrary to existing laws in Australia. Resolution 4 was impracticable, because Australia was too far away from Europe. Australia had already entered into a very heavy financial engagement to take a number of emigrants from Great Britain, about 100,000 people per year. One of the results of that would be to reduce unemployment in Europe. He did not think that the sending of refugees to Australia was a practical scheme at the present time. What they desired was immediate relief. It was not because he did not approve of Resolutions 2 and 4 that he did not assent to them, but because Australia felt it was impracticable to fall into line with them at the present time. After a discussion it was decided that a small Sub-Committee should be appointed to draft fresh proposals for submission to the Committee. It presented the resolutions given below, which were unanimously adopted by the Assembly :—

"The Assembly, having heard the report of the High Commissioner of the League of Nations for Russian refugees on the work which he has accomplished during the past year, approves this report (A. 84), and wishes to express its entire satisfaction with the way in which the High Commissioner has discharged the duties entrusted to him, and to record its high appreciation of the services he has rendered to the refugees and to the League. Assembly Resolution No. 25 (28 Sept.).

"As the work is not yet finished, the Assembly invites the High Commissioner to continue to apply the same methods of work as hitherto.

• "It further decides :

"(1) To invite the Council to request the Governments of the Members of the League to continue to lend to the High Commissioner the support and assistance which they have hitherto given him, especially as regards the development of the means of general and professional education and the securing of employment for the refugees.

"(2) To invite the Council to draw the attention of the Governments of the Members of the League to the importance of the system of identity certificates adopted at the Conference on the subject held at Geneva in July 1922, and to request those Governments which have not yet given a favourable reply to consider whether they cannot, without delay, bring this system into force.

"(3) To request the Council to provide by international co-operation for the maintenance of the Russian refugees who are incapable of providing for their own livelihood in the States where they are congregated."

68. M. Ador (Switzerland), when presenting the report of the 5th Committee to the Assembly, drew particular attention to the question of repatriation. Several members of Committee V. had thought fit to make reserves regarding the desirability of repatriating the refugees. His observations, therefore, were only the expression of his personal opinion. In his report the High Commissioner had stated that he hoped to conclude an agreement upon the basis of the amnesty which had been published by the Soviet Government. M. Ador urged the need for an agreement which would contain every possible guarantee for the safety of these refugees. No refugee should be compelled to return to his country against his will, and all those who were repatriated must be guaranteed full liberty, assured of their personal safety, and allowed to carry on their occupations in Russia without any hindrance or ill-treatment. The League of Nations should act with the greatest prudence in any agreement which might be made with the Soviet Government, and which should be submitted to the League for approval. Representing the Comité Internationale de la Croix Rouge, he felt it his duty to draw the attention of the League, and

of the High Commissioner, to the necessary conditions of an agreement with the Soviet Government. Dr. Nansen replied to these remarks. He did not think that protests (which, he said, were influenced by political considerations) such as he had received from certain Russian groups when in the previous year it was proposed to relieve the starving population of Russia, should be allowed to impede the work of relief. It was not proposed to send these refugees back to Russia without guarantees. No one would be obliged to return to Russia against his will.

OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS.

69. At the instance of the British Government, the question of obscene publications was placed on the agenda of the Assembly, and was referred to Committee V. The French Government summoned in 1910 an International Conference on the question, from which resulted an Administrative Agreement and a draft legislative Convention. This Agreement, which was signed by 15 States and subsequently ratified by 14, had been of the greatest value in starting the campaign against the evils of the traffic, but unfortunately the Convention which was intended to complete it never got beyond the draft stage. Mrs. Coombe-Tennant, the British Empire delegate, stated the reasons which led the British Government to introduce the matter. The Agreement of 1910, whilst providing valuable machinery, was not by itself an adequate instrument for the suppression of the trade. The laws of many States were insufficient for the purpose, and uniform legislative measures were required to give the necessary sanctions for this class of offence. For this purpose a new Convention was needed dealing with legislative measures. The Greek delegate explained in detail why the Arrangement of 1910 should be accepted. Its provisions, being administrative in nature, could be carried out without affecting in any way the internal legislation of the different States, while on the other hand the draft Convention involved changes in legislation and certain modifications appear to be called for. The delegate of Greece made this statement in the form of resolutions, but accepted the suggestion that the substance of his proposals should be incorporated in the Committee's report. The first proposal made was that the draft Convention should be considered by a small expert Commission to be appointed by the Council, but in view of the criticisms made by the French and the Serb-Croat-Slovene delegates it was decided that the best plan would be to have a general International Conference, consisting of delegates with full powers. The Committee came to the conclusion that the French Government should be invited to summon a Conference at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations on the understanding "that the competence of the League to summon a conference for the consideration and preparation of a Convention, and to open a protocol for the signature of any such Convention by delegates duly authorised by their Governments is not in question, and that the action taken to-day is not to be regarded as a precedent." Certain apprehensions that legislation in this matter might interfere with the liberty of art and literature were expressed in Committee, but were not pressed, more especially as it was pointed out that these dangers had been fully discussed and their remoteness exposed in the deliberations of the Conference of 1910.

The trade which the Committee had in mind is a specific one, concerned with the production and distribution of articles intended merely to gratify the passions of depraved persons or to spread corruption among others, especially the young of both sexes.

Some discussion also took place on the possibility of arriving at an international definition of the word "obscene." It seemed best to the Committee to leave this question to the consideration of the proposed Conference. The Committee finally came to a unanimous agreement on the following resolutions, which it presented to the Assembly, by whom they were unanimously adopted:—

parties to the international movement for the suppression of obscene publications, in all measures which may be necessary for this purpose.

(2) To ask the Council to draw the attention of all States to the International Agreement of 1910: those States which have signed or acceded to it should be asked to give full effect to its provisions, and those States which are not yet parties to it should be urged to accede to it at an early date.

(3) To invite the Council to communicate the draft Convention of 1910* with a questionnaire to every State with the request that it should forward its comments thereon to the Secretariat of the League of Nations. The Secretariat will co-ordinate the replies received and submit them as a whole to the French Government, requesting it, on behalf of the Council, in view of the initiative taken by that Government in 1910, to convene a new conference under the auspices of the League, to be held at Geneva about the time of the Fourth Assembly, and to be composed of plenipotentiaries empowered to draw up the text of a new convention and to sign such a convention.

GREEK AND ARMENIAN REFUGEES FROM ASIA MINOR.

70. On the 18th September the President of the Assembly read a communication, reproduced in paragraph 80, which he had received from Dr. Nansen. The first portion of the letter, dealing with the humanitarian side of the question, was referred to Committee V., to whom Dr. Nansen explained the conditions on which the work could be undertaken, but said it was mainly a question of finance. The Secretary-General replied that it would be easier to deal with the question if Dr. Nansen could give a rough estimate of the sum he required. He understood that the only expenses which he proposed should fall on the League would be those of administration. 100,000 gold francs might be taken for immediate purposes from the 500,000 gold francs (item "Unforeseen Expenditure") and he hoped that the Council would give a favourable reply. When that sum was exhausted the administrative expenses would have to be covered by other means. The Persian and other delegates supported Dr. Nansen. Various alternative proposals were suggested, but after discussion it was unanimously decided that they might be combined into a single resolution as follows:—

The Assembly, having heard Dr. Nansen's statement regarding the critical situation of more than 200,000 refugees from Asia Minor, and his offer of the services of his Russian refugee organisation for administration of any funds contributed for the benefit of the refugees; Assembly Resolution No. 4 (19 Sept.).

And, considering that this is a work which demands immediate action by the League:

Recommends that the High Commissioner of the League be authorised to utilise the services of the Russian refugee organisation to assist in the relief of refugees from the Near East and for the administration of the money collected for this purpose, it being understood that the League undertakes no responsibility for these refugees, that the work for Russian refugees shall continue without hindrance, and that this additional activity be considered as of a temporary nature;

And, recognising the urgency of providing an adequate administrative organisation for these refugees:

Invites the Council to consider whether it cannot place at the disposal of Dr. Nansen, from the item "Unforeseen expenditure," a sum sufficient to enable the necessary administrative measures to be taken for a period which will allow for adequate arrangements to be made from other sources.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Assembly, after Dr. Nansen had explained that if the Council granted the credits required, they would suffice to cover the costs of administration, and it would afterwards be necessary to collect considerable sums. For this purpose he addressed an appeal to all the nations of the world on behalf of the 200,000 victims in need of assistance. On the 25th September Lord Balfour said that he desired to bring before the Assembly a question of humanitarian interest. The British Government had been informed that there was real danger of some great calamity happening to the large number of refugees, Armenians and Greeks, then without shelter and without food in Smyrna. The British Government was prepared to give a sum of 50,000*l.* provided the other Governments would together provide an additional amount of 50,000*l.*

* The draft Convention of 1910 is given in Annex (xii) of Appendix II (page 111).

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

"The Assembly, having heard the statement of Lord Balfour, and recognising the extreme urgency of bringing effective aid to the refugees in the Near East, for which purpose financial assistance from the various Governments would be of the greatest value, decides that its Members will at once place the situation before their respective Governments recommending an immediate and adequate financial contribution to Dr. Nansen's organisation."

The New Zealand delegate announced that his Government would subscribe 1,000*l.* Other contributions were promised during the subsequent meetings of the Assembly, *viz.*, Greece, a million drachmae (about 5,000*l.*); Spain 2,000*l.*; Sweden, 1,000*l.*; Norway, 1,000*l.*; Canada, 5,000*l.*; Denmark, 1,000*l.*; Luxemburg, amount not stated.

REPATRIATION OF PRISONERS OF WAR.

71. On the 19th September the Assembly decided to place on its agenda the report of Dr. Nansen on the conclusion of the work of the repatriation of prisoners of war, which report was submitted to the Fifth Committee. Dr. Nansen had stated to the Committee that 166,579 prisoners of war had been repatriated from Russia to Europe, and 254,456 from Europe to Russia. This had involved no expenditure on the part of the League, the funds (400,000*l.*) having been provided by the Comité Internationale de Secours in Paris, various Governments, and from other sources. The report of the Fifth Committee was adopted by the Assembly, which passed the following Resolution :—

"The Assembly adopts the report (A-32 (1), 1922) of Dr. Nansen, High Commissioner of the League of Nations for the repatriation of prisoners of war, and desires to state that in the accomplishment of his mission, Dr. Nansen has indeed deserved well of humanity."

Work of Committee VI.—Political Questions.

ADMISSION OF HUNGARY.

72. This question was referred to a Sub-Committee consisting of M. Louzon (Netherlands) (Chairman), M. Benes (Czecho-Slovakia), Mr. Fisher (British Empire), M. Fortoul (Venezuela), M. Hanotoux (France), the Marquis Imperiali (Italy), and M. Motta (Switzerland). The Sub-Committee came to a unanimous decision in favour of the admission of Hungary after hearing a statement by Count Banffy, in which he solemnly declared Hungary's willingness to fulfil all her international treaties and engagements. The Czecho-Slovakian delegate pointed out in Committee VI. that he had received a message from the Hungarian Section of the Reparations Committee stating that Hungary had not fulfilled all her obligations, but that in view of the solemn declaration by Count Banffy he would not oppose Hungary's admission. The question came before the Assembly on the 18th September. The Czecho-Slovakian delegate made a speech pointing out several instances in which Hungary had not yet completely fulfilled her obligations under the Treaty of Trianon. He stated that, nevertheless, in view of Count Banffy's undertaking, he was empowered to declare on behalf of the Roumanian, Serb-Croat-Slovene, and Czecho-Slovakia delegations that they would not oppose Hungary's admission to the League. The admission of Hungary was unanimously approved by the Assembly and the Hungarian representatives accordingly took their seats.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

73. In the general debate on the Report of the work of the Council both Professor Gilbert Murray (South Africa) and Dr. Walters (Latvia) had proposed, with reference to sections (a), (b), (c), (d) of chapter 9 of the Report, that the question of the protection of minorities, with special reference to those having treaty rights (*e.g.*, in Poland, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State) should be considered by a Committee of the Assembly

The Assembly agreed to refer this subject to the Sixth Committee. Professor Gilbert Murray opened by proposing the following resolutions:—

“1. Although in the event of serious breaches of the treaties it may be necessary for the Council to preserve its full right of direct action, the Committee recognises that in ordinary cases the best way for the League to encourage good relations between the different Governments which have signed minorities treaties and the minorities placed under their sovereignty, is to have informal and friendly communications with these Governments. For this purpose the Committee suggests that the membership of the Council may need to be reinforced.

“2. In the event of disputes concerning the interpretation of treaties or their application to particular cases, or concerning any point of fact on which their application depends, the Committee recommends that an appeal be made without delay to the decision of the International Court.

“3. In certain localities where the population is mixed, the Committee considers that the protection of minorities can only be realised in an effective manner by the appointment of a permanent representative of the League to give an impartial account of the conduct of both or of all the parties of the population concerned.

“4. The Committee, recognising the fundamental right of minorities to be protected by the League against all oppression, emphasises the duty laid upon persons belonging to minorities to co-operate as loyal citizens with the nations to which they now belong.

“5. The Committee expresses the hope that the States which are not bound before the League of Nations by any legal obligations towards minorities should nevertheless observe, in the treatment of their minorities, at least the same degree of justice and toleration required by the treaties.”

Dr. Walters' somewhat wider suggestion for a full Commission of Enquiry into the subject with a view to drawing up a general convention regarding minority rights was dropped.

74. Professor Murray's resolutions did not by any means meet with universal approval, though supported by Lord R. Cecil and Dr. Nansen, and in particular Resolution 3 was subject to attack. Several nations, led by Esthonia, protested that there was no reason for having representatives of the League established in their country. Esthonia had already passed municipal laws giving full effect to the stipulations contained in the treaties regarding the rights and protection of minorities. The Italian representative stated that the proposal in Resolution 3 looked like a development of the theory of a super-State, and enquired in which States it was proposed to establish agents. The French and British representatives adopted an attitude of some reserve. It was explained by Lord Robert Cecil that one of the main points of this proposal was to facilitate the establishment of an agent of the League in Asia Minor, to watch the position of Armenia and other Christian minorities, in the event of a treaty being concluded with the Turks. Considerable discussion ensued as to whether the paragraph should be made applicable only in the case of new treaties which might be concluded. Protests were made by the French and Italian representatives on it being pointed out by Lord Robert Cecil that, though the framers of the resolution might have had in mind the case of Turkey primarily, under the resolution the League might appoint agents in any country of the world. At an earlier point in the discussion the offensive term “permanent” had been eliminated and “resident” substituted and words inserted to show that agents were only to be sent with the consent of the Governments concerned. The result of the discussion was that Resolutions Nos. 1, 4 and 5 were adopted, with a slight addition to the 5th proposed by the French delegate, and after further consideration by a Sub-Committee Articles 2 and 3 were re-drafted, and the third resolution suppressed, the following being inserted in the Committee's report:—

“Professor Murray further pointed out that, in certain cases of mixed population, where conflicts were frequent and serious, order had frequently been maintained and tranquillity restored by the mere presence of consuls or other representatives of foreign Governments, who could impartially report on events and bring to bear the influence of a wider public opinion.

“He observed that cases might arise in which the presence of resident representatives of the League might have an even more beneficent effect in view of the disinterestedness and the moral prestige possessed by the League, and suggested that the Council might well consider the desirability in suitable cases of employing such representatives, with the consent of the

Government concerned, to allay public excitement and gradually to restore tranquillity in disturbed districts.

"The Commission feels the force of these observations and wishes to place them on record, but, considering the variety of possible contingencies which may have to be met, and the wide discretion in the hands of the Council for meeting them, thinks best not to embody the proposals in a definite resolution."

In connection therewith the British delegate declared that the withdrawal of this resolution did not imply that the British Government would relax its efforts in its desire and determination to protect minorities in Asia Minor.

75. When the question of minorities came before the Assembly His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar took the opportunity to address an appeal to the representatives of South Africa to press the Government of South Africa to redress the long-standing grievances of the Indian minority in South Africa. His speech will be found in Appendix IV.

The Assembly unanimously adopted the following Resolutions proposed by the Committee :—

"1. While in cases of grave infraction of the Minorities Treaties it is necessary that the Council should retain its full power of direct action, the Assembly recognises that in ordinary circumstances the League can best promote good relations between the various signatory Governments and persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities placed under their sovereignty by benevolent and informal communications with those Governments. For this purpose, the Assembly suggests that the Council might require to have a larger secretarial staff at its disposal.

"2. In case of difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of the provisions of the Minorities Treaties, between the Government concerned and one of the States Members of the Council of the League of Nations, the Assembly recommends that the Members of the Council appeal without unnecessary delay to the Permanent Court of International Justice for a decision in accordance with the Minorities Treaties, it being understood that the other methods of conciliation provided for by the Covenant may always be employed.

"3. While the Assembly recognises the primary rights of the minorities to be protected by the League from oppression, it also emphasises the duty incumbent upon persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities to co-operate as loyal fellow-citizens with the nations to which they now belong.

"4. The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the Treaties and by the regular action of the Council.

"5. The Secretariat, which has the duty to collect information concerning the manner in which the Minorities Treaties are carried out, should not only assist the Council in the study of complaints concerning infractions to these Treaties, but should also assist the Council in ascertaining in what manner the persons belonging to racial, linguistic or religious minorities fulfil their duties towards their States. The information thus collected might be placed at the disposal of the States Members of the League of Nations if they so desire."

MANDATES.

76. The examination of the report of the Permanent Commission on Mandates, which had been referred by the Assembly to the Sixth Committee, was conducted in a Sub-Committee, consisting of M. Dantes Bellegarde (Haiti), Sir Francis Bell (New Zealand), Lord Robert Cecil (South Africa), M. Gabriel Hanotaux (France), Sir Cecil Hurst (British Empire), M. Paul Hymans (Belgium), the Marquis Imperiali (Italy), Viscount Ishii (Japan), Dr. Nansen (Norway) and Mr. Justice Rich (Australia). The appointment of this Committee led to an interesting proposal by the Persian delegate, which was accepted by the Committee, that the members of any Sub-Committee should be elected by a secret ballot, instead of by open approval of a list of names proposed by the Chairman. This proposal was never transmitted to the Assembly, and presumably had no binding force, except as regards the proceedings of the Sixth Committee during the session of the Third Assembly.

77. Discussion in the Sub-Committee on the report of the Permanent Mandates Commission and its connected documents (which are not reproduced

in this Report) evoked few points of general interest, attention being mainly given to certain points of detail, such as the exact constitutional position of the mandatory administration of the island of Nauru, the conditions under which certain phosphate rights in that island had been acquired by the Governments of Australia and New Zealand, and regarding the conditions of the sale of land in that island. Perhaps the most important point of general interest was that raised by M. Bellegarde (Haiti), who desired that some procedure should be prescribed by which the inhabitants of mandated territories could present petitions to the League. It was discovered, however, that this question was already under consideration by the Council, and consequently the proposals on the subject formulated by the Committee were of a somewhat indefinite nature (*see* No. III. of Resolutions below which were finally passed). M. Bellegarde had in the Assembly drawn attention to the circumstances attending the suppression of the Bondelzwart rebellion in 1922. The Sub-Committee contented itself with expressing satisfaction with a statement made by Sir Edgar Walton that a full impartial enquiry should be held, and with recommending that every effort should be made to relieve the survivors.

There was practically no discussion in the Committee on the report presented by the Sub-Committee.

78. When the question of mandates came up in the Assembly, Sir Francis Bell (New Zealand), made a speech in which he urged that the report of the Permanent Mandates Commission should be a confidential report to the Council, and not to the public, in which the Commission might give to the Council full advice as to the action taken by the Mandatory Powers and as to the best course to be followed by the League, and that the Council should then make a further report to the Assembly. He contended that it was impossible under the present system, by which the report of the Permanent Mandates Commission was made public, for that report to contain, if it was to avoid giving offence to the Mandatory Governments, the unrestrained advice which was so necessary. Sir Francis Bell also complained of the procedure by which the report of the Permanent Mandates Commission was dealt with by a sub-committee of a Committee of the Assembly, at which delegates of the Mandatory Powers were given a right of audience. He claimed that, if there was to be criticism or adverse comment on the administration of the Mandatory Powers, no weight could be given to such criticism unless it had been confirmed by the Assembly after free discussion in which the delegates of the Mandatory Powers had taken part.

Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer delivered a speech on the subject of mandates, drawing attention to various points of importance, and in particular inviting attention to the danger which there seemed to be that the South African Government should regard the mandated territory of South-West Africa as practically part of the South African Union. This speech, which is given in full in Appendix IV, attracted considerable attention on the part of the various Dominion delegates, Sir Edgar Walton (South Africa) apparently somewhat resenting criticism on this point from the Indian delegation, in view of the fact that there are no Indians in that mandated territory. Sir Edgar also replied to some comments that had arisen owing to the fact that no South African representative had appeared before the Permanent Mandates Commission, explaining that the only person who could have given them real assistance was the Administrator of the South-West Territory, who had at the time been conducting active operations.

M. Bellegarde (Haiti) pressed his point that there should be some procedure for assuring that petitions from the inhabitants of the mandated territories should not be suppressed, and Lord Robert Cecil threw out a suggestion that, while the proper channel should, as proposed, be through the Mandatory Government, a copy should simultaneously be forwarded to the League, on which the League would not normally take action until it had received the comments of the Mandatory Government.

The resolutions finally passed by the Assembly were as follows :—

" I. The Assembly wishes to express its keen satisfaction that the terms of the mandates which had not been promulgated in 1921 have now been defined; that reports on the administration of mandated territories have been presented to the Permanent Mandates Commission and examined in the presence of duly accredited representatives of the Mandatory Powers; and that the mandates system has thereby been brought fully into force.

" The Assembly wishes, in particular, to express its deep gratitude to the Permanent Mandates Commission for the great care and impartiality which it has devoted to the accomplishment of its important and delicate task.

" II. The Assembly, highly appreciating the action taken by the Government of South Africa in communicating, in its capacity of Mandatory Power for South-West Africa, the report of the Bondelzwart Rebellion, 1922; moved by feelings of great anxiety for the welfare and the relief of the survivors, resolves to express :—

" (a) Its profound satisfaction with the official statement made by Sir Edgar Walton, delegate for South Africa, that a full and impartial enquiry will be made into all the facts of the Bondelzwart Rebellion and its repression;

" (b) The confident hope that the Permanent Mandates Commission, at its next session, will consider this question and be able to report that satisfactory conditions have been established, and that in the meanwhile, the Mandatory Power will make every effort to relieve the suffering of the victims, particularly the women and children, and that it will ensure protection and restitution of the remaining livestock, and, in general, the restoration of the economic life in the Bondelzwart district.

" III. The Assembly, having considered the matter of the right of petition alluded to in the report of the Permanent Mandates Commission, expresses the hope that this right may be defined in such a manner as to ensure that—

" (a) All petitions emanating from inhabitants of mandated areas will be sent to the Permanent Mandates Commission through the intermediary of the local administration and of the Mandatory Power;

" (b) No petition concerning the welfare of the inhabitants of mandated areas emanating from other sources will be considered by the Permanent Mandates Commission before the Mandatory Power has had full opportunity of expressing its views."

SLAVERY IN AFRICA.

79. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland (New Zealand) had in the course of the general debate in the Assembly on the Report of the Council, asked that investigation might be made into the question of slavery in Africa. This point was referred to the Sixth Committee and by it to the same Sub-Committee as was concerned with mandates. Sir Arthur explained that there was reason to believe that there was a recrudescence of slavery in Abyssinia. In view of the absence of precise information and of the difficulty caused by the fact that Abyssinia was not a Member of the League, it was considered that it was not possible to proceed further with the investigation of the subject. The Committee contented itself with proposing the following recommendation, which was adopted by the Assembly without discussion :—

" The Assembly decides that the question of slavery shall be included in the agenda of the Fourth Assembly, and requests the Council to represent to the Fourth Assembly a report on the information which it shall have received on the matter."

NEAR EAST.

80. On the 18th September the President read to the Assembly the following communication which he had received from Dr. Nansen :—

" I have received from my Assistant High Commissioner for Russian Refugees in Constantinople an urgent telegram requesting permission to utilise the organisation of the High Commissariat in that city for administering relief to the many thousands of Greek and Armenian refugees who have arrived there from Smyrna and Broussa.

" As this request raises a question of principle of some importance, I venture to ask for your permission to lay the telegram before the Assembly at its next plenary meeting, and to suggest to the Assembly on what conditions I believe it might be complied with.

" In this connection may I avail myself of this same opportunity to request permission to lay another matter before the Assembly?

"I would ask the Assembly whether the League ought not now, according to Article 11 of the Covenant, to 'take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of Nations' in the conflict which has caused the grave situation mentioned.

"I would therefore ask permission to move a resolution, if it should seem right to do so, requesting the Council to consider without delay what steps it can take, whether by the offer of its good offices to the belligerent parties or otherwise, with a view to the immediate cessation of hostilities."

As already stated (*see* para. 70), the question of relief for the refugees was referred to the Fifth Committee. The Assembly referred to the Sixth Committee the consideration of the final paragraph of Dr Nansen's letter. In that Committee Dr. Nansen proposed a Resolution to this effect :—

"The Assembly resolves to request the Council to consider what steps it would take on behalf of the League, whether by offering its good offices to the belligerent parties or otherwise, to secure the immediate cessation of hostilities in the Near East."

An interesting discussion ensued. Dr. Nansen, in proposing his resolution, pointed out that it was the duty of the League to take action in accordance with Articles 3 and 11 of the Covenant, suggesting that the Council might invite the parties concerned to a conference to be held under the auspices of the League, and that it was essential for this purpose that the Government of Angola should be treated as on a footing of complete equality with the other parties, and that they should be invited, under the provisions of Article 17 of the Covenant, to accept the rights and duties of membership of the League for the purpose of settlement of the dispute. Dr. Nansen was warmly supported by Sir Joseph Cook (Australia). The Persian delegate also said that he lent his support to the motion, in spite of the difficulty which arose from the fact that the League had not intervened before when the Greeks were victorious, and that consequently the Turks would naturally view with suspicion attempts at intervention at the present moment. Mr. Fisher expressed his gratitude to Dr. Nansen for raising the question and proposed for consideration a resolution in the following terms which had the support of both the French and Italian representatives :—

"The Assembly views with dismay the possibility of prolongation of the war in the Near East. It notes with satisfaction the announcement of a conference at which the interested Powers will be represented, and it trusts that the Council will be prepared, as the occasion demands, to render any assistance which may be invited by the negotiating Powers towards the attainment of a prompt and durable peace."

Lord Robert Cecil strongly supported Dr. Nansen's original motion, and emphasised the difficulties already pointed out by the Persian delegate, and expressed the view that if there was to be any chance of the Turks accepting intervention by the League it was most important that it should not appear that the League was not acting on its own, but was only being called in at the request of one side of the interested parties. He desired, therefore, that any resolution that should be passed should make it plain that Turkey was to be admitted to the proceedings on a footing of equality; and that the reference to an invitation to the League by the negotiating Powers should be omitted. The Bulgarian delegate stated that his Government would be glad to see the sphere of the League of Nations enlarged, and that they hoped for the restoration of peace—if necessary with the assistance of the Council of the League, whose intervention could not cause anxiety to anyone. The French and Italian representatives were unable to agree to the proposals of Dr. Nansen and Lord Robert Cecil. Finally, a Drafting Committee was appointed with a view to finding a text which would be acceptable to all parties. The following resolution was eventually adopted unanimously by the Committee and without further debate by the Assembly :—

"The Assembly, animated by a sincere desire to see peace re-established in the Near East, and to support any action which may be taken to achieve that object, learns with satisfaction that it is proposed to hold a special conference to consider the present situation, with a view to finding a solution. The Assembly trusts that the Council, without interfering in any way with the proposed negotiations, will adopt such measures as it may deem timely and warrantable by the stage reached in the negotiations, in order to give effect to the unanimous wish of the Assembly for an early restoration of the peace,"

Assembly
Resolution
No. 22
(27 Sept.).

81 The Persian delegate had proposed in the Assembly that the Council of the League should send a neutral Commission of Enquiry to examine the charges of atrocities alleged to have been committed during the present war in the Near East, with a view to throwing light on the occurrences and to avoid reprisals against the ethnical and religious minorities of Thrace and of Asia Minor. The Greek delegate pointed out that it was only due to the attitude of the Angora Government that an enquiry had not previously taken place, and stated that they were unable to permit any measures as regards protection of minorities in Thrace other than those laid down generally for the protection of minorities. Before the proposal of the Persian Delegation could be considered in Committee it was withdrawn by them, as they expressed themselves satisfied at the investigations which they understood were being made by the International Red Cross Society.

82. Certain other political questions were referred to the Sixth Committee. As the discussions on these questions, both in the Committee and in the Assembly, were either very brief or of no special interest it will suffice to give the text of the resolution finally adopted by the Assembly on each question :—

REQUEST OF THE LITHUANIAN GOVERNMENT TO INCLUDE A NEW QUESTION IN THE AGENDA OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The Third Assembly, being requested by the Lithuanian Government to include on its agenda a new question drafted as follows :—

“ Protest against arbitrary actions of the Polish Government in connection with the territory of Vilna subsequent to the Council's recommendation of 13th January 1922 ;”

In view of the letter of the Polish Government raising the previous question ;

In view of the reply of the Lithuanian Government, dated 6th September 1922 ;

Approves the report presented on behalf of the special Committee by M. Hymans, the delegate of Belgium ;

Decides, in consequence, that the previous question should be adopted as regards the Lithuanian complaint brought against the statute of Vilna, and the elections which the Polish Government proposed to hold in that district ;

Maintains on the agenda the new question so far as it concerns abusive treatment alleged to have been inflicted upon the Lithuanian population in the Vilna district ;

And, as it is not desirable that the discussion of the Lithuanian allegations should be raised at the Assembly before the competent Committee has had an opportunity of investigating them, refers the question, thus clearly defined, directly and without discussion, to the Sixth Committee of the Assembly, which is responsible for the investigation of political questions.

COMPLAINTS BY THE LITHUANIAN GOVERNMENT RELATIVE TO THE TREATMENT OF THE NON-POLISH POPULATION IN THE TERRITORY OF VILNA.

“ The Assembly of the League of Nations, with reference to its resolution of 15th September 1922 (No 2 above), having heard the complaints of the Lithuanian Government relative to the treatment of the non-Polish population in the Vilna district, and having also heard the replies of the Polish delegate to these accusations ; considering that the questions thus raised are among those with which the Council by its resolution of 13th January 1922—after having drawn up its final recommendation for the settlement of the Polish-Lithuanian dispute—reserved to itself the right to deal, if necessary, by requesting the two Governments to allow it to send representatives to the spot for the purpose of making a report ; considering that the Council has already made use of the powers which it thus reserved to itself and that its intervention in this matter is in conformity with its general activities in regard to the protection of minorities, refers to the Council for its special consideration the question which has been submitted to the Assembly by the Lithuanian Government.”

ARMENIA.

“ The Assembly notes with gratitude the action taken by the Council with respect to Armenia, and recommends that, in the negotiations for a peace with Turkey, the necessity for providing a national home for the Armenians should not be overlooked, and requests the Council to take all steps which it may think useful to secure this result.”

GEORGIA.

"The Assembly of the League of Nations, having considered the position of Georgia, invites the Council to follow attentively the course of events in this part of the world, so that it may be able to seize any opportunity which may occur to help in the restoration of this country to normal conditions by any peaceful means in accordance with the rules of international law." Assembly Resolution (22 Sept.).

STATUS OF EASTERN GALICIA.

"The Assembly of the League of Nations renews its wish, expressed in the resolution adopted by the Second Assembly on 27th September 1921, that the Council of the League draw the attention of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to the desirability of determining at an early date the status of Eastern Galicia." Assembly Resolutions (22 Sept.).

The above concludes the account of questions dealt with by Committees of the Assembly.

ELECTION OF NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

83. On the 30th September the elections were held for the six non-permanent members of the Council, under the rules already adopted by the Assembly. All these seats were filled as the result of the first ballot; the total number voting was 46, an absolute majority being accordingly 24. The six States elected were :—

Brazil, 42.	Uruguay, 40.	Sweden 35.
Spain, 40.	Belgium, 36.	China, 27.

Uruguay and Sweden obtain seats for the first time

AUSTRIA.

84. At the final sitting of the Assembly on the afternoon of 30th September, Lord Balfour made a statement in very general terms as to the progress made by the Council in dealing with the question of rehabilitating the finances of Austria, which had been under their consideration continuously throughout the period of the Assembly meetings. He was unable to announce to the Assembly, before it broke up, final agreement as to the measures to be taken as had originally been anticipated, but indicated that it was hoped that a settlement might be reached in a few days, and he made it clear, on being questioned by Lord R. Cecil, that in any event the Council proposed eventually to make public all the documents and proposals relative to this question.

The Assembly proceedings concluded with a speech from the President.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

85. The general impression left by a survey of the work of the Third Assembly is that the League is nearing the conclusion of the initial stage in which Assemblies have necessarily been very largely concerned with questions of the internal organisation and administration of the League and its dependent or associated bodies, and that it is gradually attaining greater freedom and strength to deal with the political problems and questions of international organisation for which it was created. It must, of course, continue to remain true that practical problems of the highest importance can only be dealt with by the Council, and that the Assembly must necessarily be content, in the main, to approve or suggest certain lines of policy and to indicate promising spheres of action.

The future strength and prestige of the League cannot, of course, but be largely affected by the success or failure of the Council's efforts to solve the problem of helping Austria to attain financial and commercial stability.

The resolutions adopted by the Third Assembly on the subject of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee and the possibility of reference to the League at some future date of the problem of reparations and inter-allied debts, tentative

81. The Persian delegate had proposed in the Assembly that the Council of the League should send a neutral Commission of Enquiry to examine the charges of atrocities alleged to have been committed during the present war in the Near East, with a view to throwing light on the occurrences and to avoid reprisals against the ethnical and religious minorities of Thrace and of Asia Minor. The Greek delegate pointed out that it was only due to the attitude of the Angora Government that an enquiry had not previously taken place, and stated that they were unable to permit any measures as regards protection of minorities in Thrace other than those laid down generally for the protection of minorities. Before the proposal of the Persian Delegation could be considered in Committee it was withdrawn by them, as they expressed themselves satisfied at the investigations which they understood were being made by the International Red Cross Society.

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The resolutions adopted by the Third Assembly on the subject of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee and the possibility of reference to the League at some future date of the problem of reparations and inter-allied debts, tentative

and general though they may be, mark a more important step in the history of the Assemblies of the League than has yet been seen.

86. The utility of the work done by the Assembly will depend, in the last resort, very largely on the representative character of the delegates. No progress can be made if Governments are unwilling to give effect to, or pay serious heed to, resolutions passed by the Assembly with the approval of their delegates. In the case of some States the tendency to disregard the resolutions of the League is only too marked. It is of the utmost importance for the future of the League that all States should send delegates who are fully qualified to represent the views of their Government and to whose advice the Government are likely to pay attention.

87. No decision taken by the Third Assembly was of very immediate or vital interest to India. As regards the opium question India was on this occasion free from ill-informed attack and can apparently now enjoy the position which she deserves as a loyal and scrupulous observer, in the letter and the spirit, of the provisions of the Hague Convention. The sphere of controversy regarding India's share in the burden of expenditure of the League was happily restricted within the domestic limits of the British Empire.

But though the League's activities seem in general to concern India only indirectly at the present time, we were deeply impressed with the advantages to be gained by the continued and adequate representation of India among the Delegations of the Assembly of the League, by participation in their deliberations, and by the opportunity for personal contact with representatives of the countries of the world among which India is entitled to occupy so important a position.

88 We desire to express our indebtedness to Mr. J. Campbell, I.C.S., Representative of India on the Opium Advisory Committee, for the valuable services which he rendered to the Delegation in all the spheres of our activity.

(Signed) CHELMSFORD.

RANJIT SINHJI OF NAWANAGAR.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

LONDON,
21st January 1923.

APPENDIX I.

List of States represented and their Delegates. (Many Delegations were also accompanied by Substitute Delegates other than those mentioned in this List, and numerous Expert Advisers.

ALBANIA.—M. Mehdi Frasheri (former Minister of Public Works, Member of Parliament). Dr. Benoit Blinishti (Director of the Permanent Secretariat accredited to the League of Nations).

ARGENTINE.—Not represented.

AUSTRALIA.—Sir Joseph Cook (High Commissioner in London). Sir Mark Sheldon, Kt. The Hon. G. E. Rich (Justice of the High Court of Australia).

Substitute.—Mrs. Margaret Dale.

Substitute and Legal Expert.—M. Harold Leslie Boyce, B.A., B.L.

AUSTRIA.—His Excellency M. Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein (former Ambassador). His Excellency M. Éméric Pflügl (Resident Minister). His Excellency Dr. Alfred Grünberger (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

BELGIUM.—His Excellency M. Paul Hymans (Minister of State). His Excellency M. Prosper Poullet (Member and former President of the House of Representatives). M. Louis de Brouckère.

Substitute.—M. Henri Rolin (Assistant Legal Adviser at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

BOLIVIA.—His Excellency Senor Alberto Gutier-Rez. M. Carlos Victor Aramayo.

BRAZIL.—His Excellency M. Domicio da Gama (Ambassador in London, Brazilian Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. R. Regis de Oliveira (Ambassador in Mexico). His Excellency M. J. Raul de Rio-Branco (Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

BRITISH EMPIRE.—The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M. The Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P. (Minister of Education). Lieut.-Col. John Ward, C.B., C.M.G., M.P.

Substitutes.—Sir Cecil Hurst, K.C.B., K.C. Mrs. W. M. Coombe Tennant.

BULGARIA.—His Excellency M. Alexandre Stamboliisky (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Kost. Todoroff (Minister Plenipotentiary at Belgrade). His Excellency M. Siméon Radeff (former Minister Plenipotentiary).

Substitutes.—M. Pierre Neicoff (Consul-Général). M. Nicolas Mileff (Professor at the University of Sofia).

CANADA.—The Hon. William Stevens Fielding, LL.D., D.C.L., M.P. (Minister of Finance). The Hon. Earnest Lapointe, B.A., LL.D., K.C., M.P. (Minister of Marine and Fisheries). The Hon. Peter Charles Larkin (High Commissioner in London).

CHILE.—His Excellency M. Agustin Edwards (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Great Britain). His Excellency M. Manuel Rivas-Vienna (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne and Vienna).

Expert.—M. Ricardo Schonmeyer (Honorary Counsellor).

CHINA.—His Excellency M. Lou Tseng-tsiang (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). His Excellency M. Tang Tsai-Fou (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome). His Excellency M. Hwang Yung-Liang (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Vienna).

Substitute.—M. Chao-Hsin Chu (Chargé d'Affaires in London).

COLOMBIA.—His Excellency Dr. Francisco José Urrutia (Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid and Berne).

Substitute.—M. A. M. Cespedes.

COSTA RICA.—His Excellency M. Manuel de Peralta (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris).

CUBA.—His Excellency M. Cosme de la Torriente y Peraza (Member of the Hague Arbitral Tribunal, President of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Senate). His Excellency Dr. Aristides de Agüero y Bethancourt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin). His Excellency M. Guillermo de Blanck y Menocal (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne and The Hague).

Substitute and Secretary-General.—His Excellency M. Miguel Angel Campa y Caraveda (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Tokio).

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—Dr. Edouard Benes (Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs). Dr. Stephen Osusky (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris). Dr. Robert Flieder (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

Substitutes.—M. Jan Dvoricek (Minister Plenipotentiary). Dr. Vilém Pospisil (General Director of the Prague Savings Bank).

DENMARK.—His Excellency M. Herluf Zahle (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Stockholm). M. Laüst Moltesen (Doctor of Philosophy, Member of Parliament). M. P. Munch (Doctor of Philosophy, Member of Parliament).

ESTHONIA.—His Excellency M. Antoine Piip (Minister for Foreign Affairs). General Johan Laidoner (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs and National Defence). His Excellency M. Charles Pusta (Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris and Rome).

Substitute.—M. Alexandre Hellat (Minister at Warsaw). M. Ado Anderkopp (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

FINLAND.—His Excellency M. Rafael Woldemar Erich (Envoy Extraordinary on special work for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). His Excellency M. Eino Rudolf Woldemar Holsti (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Kaarle Voionmaa (Professor at the University of Helsingfors, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Substitute.—M. Georges Achates Gripenberg (Chargé d'Affaires at The Hague).

FRANCE.—His Excellency M. Léon Bourgeois (President of the Senate, French Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). (M. Georges Noblemaire (Member of the Chamber of Deputies) (*Substitute*).) His Excellency M. René Viviani. (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). (M. Henry de Jouvenel (Senator) (*Substitute*).) His Excellency M. Gabriel Hanotaux (Member of the French Academy). (M. Georges Marie Reynald (Senator) (*Substitute*).)

Substitute.—M. Joseph Barthelemy (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

GREECE.—His Excellency M. Georges Streit (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Hague Arbitral Tribunal, Professor of International Law, Vice-President of the Greek League of Nations Office). His Excellency M. Nicolas Xydakis (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Stockholm). His Excellency M. Antoine F. Frangulis (Resident Minister).

Substitutes.—M. Joseph Mallah (Member of the National Assembly). M. de Castorkis (Fellow and Professor of Penal Law at the University of Athens).

GUATEMALA.—Dr. A. Figueroa (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris).

HAITI.—His Excellency M. Louis Dantes Bellegarde (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris).

HONDURAS.—Not represented.

HUNGARY.—His Excellency Count Banffy (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

INDIA.—The Right Hon. Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E. His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, K.C.S.I., G.B.E. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

ITALY.—His Excellency M. Vittorio Scialoja (Professor of Law at the Royal University of Rome, Senator). His Excellency the Marquis Guglielmo Imperiali dei Principi di Francavilla (Senator, Ambassador, Italian Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency Count Fulco Tosti, Principi di Valminuta (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—M. Maggiorino Ferraris (Senator). M. Stefano Cavazzoni (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Don Gelasio Gaetani dei Duchi di Sermoneta (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

JAPAN.—His Excellency the Baron Gonsuke Hayashi (Ambassador to Great Britain). His Excellency Viscount Ishii (Ambassador to the French Republic). His Excellency M. Minéiteirô Adatei (Ambassador to Belgium).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Kumataru Honda (Minister at Vienna). His Excellency M. Michikazu Matsuda (Minister Plenipotentiary, Counsellor of Embassy).

LATVIA.—His Excellency M. G. Albāt (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Walters (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome). M. O. Grosvald (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris).

Substitute.—M. V. Schumans (Head of the Political and Economic Sections at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

LIBERIA.—Baron Rodolphe Auguste Lehman (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris).

Substitute.—M. Nicolas Ooms (Secretary of Legation).

LITHUANIA.—M. Vencelas Sidzikauskas (Chargé d'Affaires at Berne). M. T. Narusevicius (Chargé d'Affaires in London). M. J. nymas (Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

LUXEMBURG.—M. Antoine Lefort (Councillor of State).

NETHERLANDS.—His Excellency the Jonkheer J. Loudon (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris). Professor A. H. Struycken (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Member of the Council of State, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague). Professor W. J. M. van Eysinga (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Professor at the University of Leyden).

NEW ZEALAND.—Col. the Hon. Sir James Allen, K.C.B. (High Commissioner in London). The Hon. Sir Francis Bell, K.C.M.G., K.C. (Attorney-General of New Zealand). The Right Hon. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, Bart., M.P.).

NORWAY.—Dr. Nansen (Professor at the University at Christiania). His Excellency M. Otto Albert Blehr (Prime Minister). His Excellency M. Christian Fredrik Michelet (Barrister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—Dr. Christian L. Lange (Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union). Dr. Mikael H. Lie (Professor at the University of Christiania). Mlle. Kristine Elisabeth Bonnevie (Doctor and Professor at the University of Christiania).

PANAMA.—His Excellency M. Antonio Burgos (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome and Berne). Doctor the Hon. Raoul A. Amador (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris).

PARAGUAY.—His Excellency Dr. Hector Velázquez (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome).

PERSIA.—His Highness Prince Mirza Riza Khan Arfa-ed-Dowleh (Ambassador, former Minister of Justice). His Excellency Emir Zoka-ed-Dowleh (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

PERU.—Not represented.

POLAND.—His Excellency Professor Szymon Askenazy (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations). His Excellency Dr. Witold Chodzko (Minister of Public Health). His Excellency M. Léon Plucinski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, General Commissioner of the Polish Government at Danzig).

Substitutes.—His Excellency Jean de Modzelewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). M. Francois Sokal (Polish Delegate on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office).

PORTUGAL.—His Excellency M. Teixeira Gomes (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). His Excellency M. Joao Chagas (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris). M. Ernesto de Vasconcellos.

Substitute.—His Excellency M. Antonio Maria Bartholomeu Ferreira (Minister of Berne).

ROUMANIA.—His Excellency M. C. Dissesco (Senator, former Minister of State, Professor at the University of Bucharest). His Excellency M. Manolesco-Romniceano (former Senior President of the Supreme Court of Appeal).

Substitutes.—Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco. Professor S. Puscario (former Principal of the University of Cluj).

SALVADOR.—Not represented.

SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE.—His Excellency Dr. Momtchilo Nintchitch (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Miloutine Yovanovitch (Minister at Berne). His Excellency Michel Gavrilovitch (Minister at London).

Substitutes.—Dr. Milorad Straznicki (Professor at the University of Zagreb). M. Ranslav Avramovitch (Under Secretary of State at the Ministry of Transport). M. Vassilié Yovanovitch.

SIAM.—His Highness Prince Charoon (Minister at Paris). His Excellency Phya Bibadh Kosha (Minister at Rome). M. Phya Rajawangsan (Captain in the Royal Siamese Navy).

SOUTH AFRICA.—The Hon. Sir Edgar Harris Walton, K.C.M.G. (High Commissioner in London). The Right Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P. Professor Gilbert Murray, M.A., LL.D.

Substitute and Expert.—Sir Henry Strakosch

SPAIN.—His Excellency Count de Gimeno (Senator). His Excellency M. José Quiñones de León (Ambassador at Paris, Spanish Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Emilio de Palacios (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs).

SWEDEN.—His Excellency M. Hjalmar Branting (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Ernst Trygger (Doctor of Law, Judge of the Supreme Court, Member of the First Chamber of the Riksdag). M. Jonas Eliel Lofgren (former Minister, Member of the First Chamber of the Riksdag).

Substitutes.—Baron Sten Gustaf Fredrik Troil Ramel (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Christiania). Madame Anna Bugge Wicksell (Master of Law, Secretary of the Royal Swedish Committee dealing with League of Nations questions). Professor Oesten Unden (former Minister, Professor at the University of Upsala).

SWITZERLAND.—His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta (Head of the Federal Political Department, Federal Councillor). His Excellency M. Gustave Ador (former Federal Councillor, President of the International Red Cross Committee). M. Paul Usteri (Member of the Council of States).

Substitute.—M. Robert Forrer (Doctor of Law, National Councillor).

URUGUAY.—His Excellency M. Juan Carlos Blanco (Minister at Paris). M. Antonio Bachini (Deputy, President of the Committee on International Affairs, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Benjamin Fernandez Medina (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid).

VENEZUELA.—His Excellency Dr. José Gil Fortoul (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris and Berne). His Excellency M. César Zumeta (Inspector of Consulates, Special Commissioner for the study of the commercial situation and of the state of navigation in different countries). Dr. José Antonio Tagliaferro (Senator, Member of the Venezuelan Section of the Inter-American Commission).

Substitute.—M. Manuel Arocha (Consul at Geneva).

STATES NOT MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.

ARMENIA.—M. Gabriel Noradounghian. M. Mikaël Vapadtanian.

GEORGIA.—M. Khariton Chavichvili.

APPENDIX II.

Reports of Committees of the Assembly, and other connected Documents.

ANNEX I.—*Rules of Procedure of the Assembly (as amended by the Second and Third Assemblies).*

Rule 1.—(1) The Assembly shall meet in General Session every year, at the seat of the League of Nations, commencing on the first Monday in September.

(2) Sessions may also be held at such times as the Assembly at a previous meeting decides, and at such times as the Council, by a majority vote, decides.

(3) If a Member of the League considers a Session to be desirable, it may request the Secretary-General to summon a Special Session of the Assembly. The Secretary-General shall thereupon inform the other Members of the League of the request, and enquire whether they concur in it. If within a period of one month from the date of the communication of the Secretary-General a majority of the members concur in the request, a special Session of the Assembly shall be summoned.

Rule 2.—The Sessions of the Assembly shall be held at the seat of the League, or, in exceptional circumstances, at such other place as is designated by the Assembly or by a majority of the Council, or approved by a majority of the Members of the League.

Rule 3.—(1) The Sessions of the Assembly shall be summoned by the President of the Council, acting through the Secretary-General.

(2) The summons shall be addressed to the Members of the League not less than four months before the date fixed for the opening of the Session. In exceptional circumstances, however, the Council, by a majority vote, may sanction a shorter period.

(3) Nothing contained in paragraph (2) of this Rule shall affect the provisions, concerning special cases, contained in the Covenant.

Rule 4.—(1) The agenda shall be drawn up by the Secretary-General with the approval of the President of the Council. The complete agenda shall be circulated as nearly as possible four months before the date fixed for the opening of the Session.

(2) The agenda of a general Session shall include :—

(a) A report on the work of the Council since the last Session, on the work of the Secretariat, and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly.

(b) All items whose inclusion has been ordered by the Assembly, at a previous Session ;

(c) All items proposed by the Council ;

(d) All items proposed by a Member of the League ; and

(e) The Budget for the next fiscal period, and the report on the accounts of the last fiscal period.

(5) Any Member of the League may, at least one month before the date fixed for the opening of the Session, request the inclusion of additional items in the agenda. Such items shall be placed on a supplementary list, which shall be circulated to the Members of the League

at least three weeks before the date fixed for the opening of the Session. The Assembly shall decide whether items on the supplementary list shall be included in the agenda of the Session.

(4) The Assembly may, in exceptional circumstances, place additional items on the agenda; but all consideration of such items shall, unless otherwise ordered by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly, be postponed until four days after they have been placed on the agenda, and until a committee has reported upon them.

(5) No proposal for a modification of the allocation of expenses for the time being in force shall be inserted in the agenda unless it has been communicated to the Members of the League at least four months before the date fixed for the opening of the Session.

Rule 5.—(1) Each Member shall communicate to the Secretary-General, if possible before the date fixed for the opening of the Session, the names of its Representatives, of whom there shall be not more than three. The names of Substitute-Representatives may be added.

(2) Each Representative shall, as soon as possible, and preferably before the opening of the Session, present his credentials to the Secretary-General.

(3) A committee of eight members for the examination of the credentials shall be elected by the Assembly by secret ballot. The committee shall report without delay.

(4) Any representative to whose admission objection has been made shall sit provisionally with the same rights as other representatives, unless the Assembly decides otherwise.

Rule 6.—(1) In addition to the Substitute-Representatives mentioned in paragraph (1) of Rule 5, the Representatives of a Member of the League attending the Assembly, acting together as a Delegation, may appoint substitutes. Any such appointment shall be communicated in writing to the President.

(2) A Substitute-Representative appointed by a Member of the League may take the place of a Representative without nomination by the Representatives.

(3) A Substitute-Representative or substitute may take the place of a Representative who is absent from a meeting of the Assembly, or is temporarily prevented from taking part in its deliberations, but if the Representative is present at the meeting the Substitute-Representative or substitute is only entitled to assist him.

(4) A Delegation may appoint for service on a committee a deputy or technical adviser other than those referred to in the above paragraphs of this Rule; but a deputy or adviser so appointed shall not be eligible for appointment as Chairman or *Rapporteur*, or for a seat in the Assembly.

Rule 7.—(1) The officers of the Assembly shall consist of a President and of six Vice-Presidents, together with the Chairmen of the main Committees of the Assembly, who shall be *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents of the Assembly. These officers shall form the General Committee.

(2) The President shall be elected at the beginning of each session.

(3) Until the election of the President, the President of the Council shall act as President of the Assembly.

(4) The election of the Vice-Presidents shall take place at one of the early meetings of the session.

Rule 8.—(1) The President shall announce the opening, suspension and adjournment of the meetings of the Assembly, direct the work of the Assembly, ensure the observance of the Rules of Procedure, accord the right to address the Assembly, declare the debates to be closed, put questions to the vote, and announce the result of the voting.

(2) In the general direction of the work of the Assembly, in the constitution of such committees as the Assembly decides to create, in deciding on the communications to be made to the Assembly, in the framing of the agenda for each meeting, and in the determination of the order of priority for its various items, the President shall be assisted by the General Committee.

Rule 9.—(1) The Secretary-General shall be responsible for the organisation of the Secretariat of the Assembly and of the Secretariat of any committees set up by the Assembly.

(2) The Secretary-General may be assisted or replaced at the meetings of the Assembly by a deputy or deputies. The Secretary-General, or one of his deputies, may at any time, on the invitation of the President, bring before the Assembly reports concerning any question which is being considered by the Assembly, and may be invited by the President to make verbal communications concerning any question under consideration.

Rule 10.—(1) It shall be the duty of the Secretariat, *inter alia*, to receive, print, circulate and translate documents, reports and resolutions; to translate speeches made at the meetings; to draft, print and circulate the Minutes of the Session; to have the custody and proper preservation of the documents in the archives of the Assembly; to publish the reports of the meetings; and, generally, to perform all other work which the Assembly thinks fit to entrust to it.

(2) All documents emanating from the Assembly shall be circulated to the Governments of the Members of the League.

Rule 11.—(1) The public shall be admitted to the plenary meetings of the Assembly by cards distributed by the Secretary-General.

(2) The Assembly may decide that particular meetings shall be private.

(3) All decisions of the Assembly upon items on the agenda, which have been taken at a private meeting, shall be announced at a public meeting of the Assembly.

Rule 12.—A list of the attendance at each meeting of the Assembly shall be kept by the Secretariat.

Rule 13.—At the beginning of each meeting the President shall present to the Assembly all communications addressed to the Assembly or to the League, the importance of which appears to him to warrant such action.

Rule 14.—(1) The Assembly shall establish such committees as it thinks fit, for the consideration of the items on the agenda. Items of the same nature will be referred to the same committee.

(2) The Assembly shall not decide items on the agenda in full meeting until the report of a committee upon them has been presented and circulated, unless the Assembly itself, by a two-thirds majority, determines otherwise.

Reports by a Committee involving the expenditure of money must indicate whether the expenditure will constitute part of the general expenses of the League or whether it will be recovered from the Members of the League particularly concerned.

Reports by a Committee other than the Finance Committee recommending action which will involve the expenditure of money shall be accompanied by as close an estimate as time and circumstances allow of the amount of the expenditure involved. This estimate shall, before the matter is brought before the Assembly, be submitted to the Fourth Committee in order that it may be checked by that Committee.

No resolution involving expenditure shall in any case be voted by the Assembly before the Finance Committee shall have expressed its opinion on the advisability of the proposed expenditure from the point of view of general budgetary resources.

(3) Each Delegation may designate one member, and may nominate technical advisers for each committee.

(4) Each committee shall appoint its Chairman and *Rapporteur*.

(5) Each committee may appoint sub-committees, which shall elect their own officers.

(6) Each committee shall meet in private unless it decides otherwise. It shall keep a Register of its discussions, and Minutes, which shall be published at the earliest possible date, but not until they have been approved by the committee. They may at any time be consulted by any Member of the Assembly.

(7) Every representative shall have the right to place before any committee any communication which he considers should be made to it, but no representative may, without special leave from the Chairman, speak at a meeting of any committee of which he is not a member.

(8) The Secretary-General or his deputies may make to any committee or sub-committee any report or verbal communication which he or they may consider desirable.

*Rule 15.**—(1) No representative may address the Assembly without having previously obtained the permission of the President.

(2) Speakers shall be called upon in the order in which they have signified their desire to speak. The Chairman and the *Rapporteur* of a committee may be accorded precedence for the purpose of defending or explaining the conclusions arrived at by their committee. The same principle shall apply to any Member of the Council.

(3) The President may call a speaker to order if his remarks are not relevant to the subject under discussion. If necessary, he may direct the speaker to resume his seat.

(4) When a motion is under discussion, a representative may rise to a point of order, and such point of order shall be immediately decided by the President in accordance with the Rules of Procedure.

(5) The Assembly may limit the time allowed to each speaker.

Rule 16.—(1) Speeches in French shall be summarised in English, and *vice versa*, by an interpreter belonging to the Secretariat.

(2) A Representative speaking in another language shall provide for the translation of his speech into one of these two languages.

(3) All documents, resolutions and reports circulated by the President or the Secretariat shall be rendered in both French and English.

(4) Any Representative may have documents circulated in a language other than French or English, but the Secretariat will not be responsible for their translation or printing.

* (1) The right to speak at the Assembly before any other speakers shall be accorded to a representative of a State Member of the Council.

(2) This right is only conferred in cases where the delegate wishes to speak for the purpose of defending or explaining to the Assembly the views, decisions or actions of the Council which are under discussion (Conclusions of General Committee, *Journal of the Third Assembly*, No. 14, 19th September 1922).

(5) Any Member of the League, or any group of Members, may require that all documents and publications of the League shall be regularly translated into, and printed and circulated in, a language other than French and English, but shall in such case defray all the necessary expenses.

Rule 17.—(1) Resolutions, amendments and motions must be introduced in writing and handed to the President. The President shall cause copies to be distributed to the Representatives.

(2) As a general rule, no proposal shall be discussed or put to the vote at any meeting of the Assembly unless copies of it have been circulated to all Representatives not later than the day preceding the meeting.

(3) The President may, however, permit the discussion and consideration of amendments, or of motions as to procedure, without previous circulation of copies.

Rule 18.—(1) During the discussion of any question, any Representative may move the previous question or the adjournment. Any such motion shall have priority in the debate. In addition to the proposer of the motion, two Representatives may speak in favour of, and two against, the motion.

(2) Parts of a proposal shall be voted on separately, if a Representative requests that the proposal be divided.

(3) A Representative may at any time move the closure of the debate, whether any other Representative has signified his wish to speak or not. If application is made for permission to speak against the closure, it may be accorded to not more than two speakers.

(4) The President shall take the sense of the Assembly on a motion for closure. If the Assembly decides in favour of the closure, the President shall declare the closure of the debate.

(5) When a number of proposals are before the Assembly, the proposal furthest removed in substance from the principal one shall be voted on first.

(6) If an amendment striking out part of a proposal is moved, the Assembly shall first vote on whether the words in question shall stand part of the proposal. If the decision is in the negative, the amendment shall then be put to the vote.

(7) When an amendment adds to a proposal it shall be voted on first, and if it is adopted the amended proposal shall then be voted on.

Rule 19.—(1) Except where otherwise expressly provided in the Covenant or by the terms of a treaty, decisions of the Assembly shall be taken by an unanimous vote of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

(2) All matters of procedure at a meeting of the Assembly, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

(3) All decisions taken in virtue of these Rules shall be considered as matters of procedure.

(4) A majority decision requires the affirmative votes of more than half of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

(5) For the purposes of this Rule, Representatives who abstain from voting shall be considered as not present.

Rule 20.—The Assembly shall vote by "Appel Nominal," except when the Members of the League represented at the meeting agree that the method of voting shall be by heads of Delegations rising in their seats, and except in the cases provided for in Rule 21. The "Appel Nominal" shall be taken in one of the following manners as the Assembly may decide :—

(a) The name of each Delegation shall be called, and one of its Members shall reply "Yes," "No," or "Not Voting." The result of the vote shall be recorded and announced to the Assembly; or

(b) The Delegation of each Member of the League represented at the meeting shall be provided with two voting tickets, on which the name of the country is written, one red and one blue, the former being "Aye," the latter "No." The voting tickets shall be deposited in an urn placed near the President's platform. When all the votes have been collected, the President shall declare the ballot closed, and the General Committee shall proceed to count the votes. The individual votes shall be communicated to the Assembly and the result shall be announced by the President.

Rule 21.—(1) All decisions relating to individuals shall be taken by a secret ballot.

(2) If, when one person only is to be elected, no one person obtains at the first ballot an absolute majority of votes, an entirely new ballot shall be taken; but on this occasion the voting shall be confined to the two candidates who obtained the largest number of votes at the first ballot. If there is at this ballot an equality of votes for the two candidates, the elder candidate shall be declared elected.

(3) When a number of elective places of the same nature are to be filled at one time, those persons who obtain an absolute majority at the first ballot shall be elected. If the

number of persons obtaining such majority is less than the number of persons to be elected, there shall be a second ballot to fill the remaining places, the voting being restricted to the unsuccessful candidates who obtained the greatest number of votes at the first ballot, not more than double in number the places remaining to be filled. Those candidates, to the number required to be elected, who receive the greatest number of votes at the second ballot, shall be declared elected.

Rule 22.—In case of equality in any voting other than that referred to in Rule 21, in which a majority is required, a second vote shall be taken in the course of the next meeting; this meeting shall be held within 48 hours from the date on which the first vote was taken, and it shall be expressly mentioned on the agenda that a second vote will be taken on the matter in question. Unless there is at this subsequent meeting a majority in favour of the proposal, it shall be considered as lost.

Rule 23.—(1) The President may declare a meeting to be adjourned or suspended, if a proposal for adjournment or suspension made by him does not meet with objection from the Assembly.

(2) The President shall declare an adjournment or suspension of the meeting upon a vote to this effect by the Assembly.

Rule 24.—The General Committee, in cases where it deems it necessary, may revise the resolutions adopted by the Assembly, changing their form but not their substance. Any such changes shall be reported to the Assembly.

Rule 25.—The verbatim report of each meeting shall be drawn up by the Secretariat and submitted to the Assembly after approval by the President.

Rule 26.—The resolutions adopted by the Assembly shall be circulated by the Secretary-General to the Members of the League within 15 days after the termination of the Session.

Rule 27.—These Rules of Procedure shall apply to the proceedings of committees of the Assembly.

Rule 28.—These Rules of Procedure may be altered by a decision of the Assembly; but no such alteration shall be made except upon a majority vote of the Assembly, taken after a committee has reported on the proposed alteration.

ANNEX II.—*Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations.*

DEFINITIONS.

In these Regulations :—

The "League" includes the Secretariat and all autonomous and non-autonomous organisations.

"Assembly" means the Assembly of League of Nations.

"Council" means the Council of the League of the Nations.

"Autonomous organisations" include the International Labour Organisation, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and any autonomous organisation hereafter created by the Assembly.

The word autonomous has reference solely to the separation of the financial administration of such organisations from that of the Secretariat and does not imply any wider consequences.

"Competent authority" means (a) in the case of the Secretariat and non-autonomous organisations, the Council, (b) in the case of the International Labour Organisation, the Governing Body of the Labour Office, and (c) in the case of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Court.

"Competent official" means (a) in the case of the Secretariat and non-autonomous organisations, the Secretary-General, (b) in the case of the International Labour Organisation, the Director of the Labour Office, and (c) in the case of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Registrar of the Court; or the duly authorised deputies of these officials.

"Non-autonomous organisations" include all organisations of the League (other than the autonomous organisations) which do not form part of the general services of the Secretariat.

"Commission" means the Supervisory Commission.

"Rapporteur" means the Rapporteur of the Commission.

CHAPTER I.

THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION

Article 1.—(1) There shall be a Supervisory Commission to perform the duties assigned to it by these Regulations, and to deal with any other special matters referred to it by the Assembly or the Council.

(2) The Commission shall be composed of five members, of whom one at least shall be a financial expert. The members shall be appointed by the Council, which, in selecting members, shall include among them persons belonging to countries, Members of the League, which are not represented on the Council.

(3) The term of office of members of the Commission shall be three years corresponding to three financial years of the League, and retiring members shall be eligible for reappointment but—

(a) the whole Commission shall not be renewed simultaneously; and, in order to establish a system of partial annual renewal, the members who were in office before the adoption of these Regulations shall retire as follows: at the end of each of the years 1923 and 1924 two members, and at the end of 1925 the remaining member, the order of retirement being determined by lot;

(b) any vacancy caused by the death or resignation of a member before the end of his term of office shall be filled by appointing a member to hold office until the end of the term of office of the member deceased or resigning.

Article 2.—(1) The Commission shall appoint from its members a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and a *Rapporteur* for each financial year. They shall be eligible for reappointment.

(2) The *Rapporteur* shall be generally responsible for the preparation of the work of the Commission before its plenary meetings. He shall ascertain that the decisions taken by the Commission at its meetings are carried out, and shall execute all duties placed upon him by these Regulations or by the Commission.

Article 3.—(1) The Commission shall hold its sessions in Geneva. Suitable office accommodation, as required, shall be provided by the Secretary General for the Commission and the *Rapporteur*.

(2) The Secretary-General shall place the necessary clerical assistance at the disposal of the Commission and the *Rapporteur*. An official of the Secretariat, who shall be assisted by an official of the International Labour Office, shall act as Secretary of the Commission.

Article 4.—(1) An auditor, who shall be a person in no way in the service of any of the organisations of the League, shall be appointed by the Council on the proposal of the Commission.

(2) The auditor shall be appointed for a period of five years, and shall not be removable except by the Council and on the proposal of the Commission, with reasons stated.

(3) During his presence at the seat of any League organisation for the purposes of an audit, the auditor shall receive subsistence allowance and such other allowances as the Commission may determine, and his necessary travelling expenses shall be refunded on production of a duly certified statement.

Article 5.—(1) The competent officials shall, on their request, be heard by the Commission, whenever it is in session, and shall appear before the Commission at its request. Other officials shall appear before and give information to the Commission on a request to that effect being addressed by the Commission to the competent officials.

(2) While the Commission is not in session, the *Rapporteur*, if present at the seat of the League or of one of its organisations for the discharge of his duties, shall be entitled to obtain information from officials in accordance with the preceding paragraph. The *Rapporteur* shall submit to the Chairman of the Commission any question which the competent officials request him so to submit.

(3) The Commission shall supply the Council with any information relating to its work which the Council may require.

CHAPTER II.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF LEAGUE ORGANISATIONS.

Article 6.—All organisations of the League, including all autonomous organisations, shall comply with these Regulations, and with every decision of the Assembly governing financial and budgetary administration.

Article 7.—(1) The financial administration of autonomous organisations shall be independent of the financial administration of the Secretariat, subject always to the provisions of these Regulations.

(2) The financial administration of the non-autonomous organisations shall be an integral part of the financial administration of the Secretariat.

(3) The Secretary-General, acting in consultation with the Advisory Committee of the organisation (if any), shall be responsible for estimating the financial requirements of the non-autonomous organisations, and for submitting such estimates. He shall likewise be responsible for the expenditure of all funds voted for these organisations, and for the appropriation of such expenditure to the proper items of the Budget.

(4) In the case of an autonomous organisation, the responsibilities dealt with in para. (3) shall rest upon the competent official or competent authority.

CHAPTER III.

DRAWING UP THE BUDGET.

Article 8.—The financial year of the League shall be the calendar year.

Article 9.—(1) For every financial year estimates shall be made of the expenditure to be incurred by the League.

(2) The estimates shall be divided into separate *parts*: (a) for the Secretariat, (b) for each autonomous organisation, and (c) for the Working Capital Fund, when it is necessary to ask for contributions to this fund, in accordance with the model shown in the annex.

(3) Each *part* (except that relating to the Working Capital Fund) shall be divided into two *Sections*, one for ordinary expenditure and the other for capital expenditure.

(4) The Sections referred to in para. (3) shall be subdivided into *Chapters* corresponding to the various services or categories of expenditure. The different organisations shall aim at uniformity of arrangement.

Article 10.—(1) There shall be included in the part of the Budget dealing with the expenses of the Secretariat the cost of sessions of the Council and the Assembly, the cost of all non-autonomous organisations, and any expenses of a bureau or commission which the Council may decide so to include in the expenses of the Secretariat in accordance with Article 24 of the Covenant.

(2) There shall be separate Chapters for each of these categories of expenditure and for the general expenses of the Secretariat.

Article 11.—The general Budget of the League shall be preceded by a summary of the estimated income and expenditure for all the organisations covered by the Budget. This statement shall set out the amount required to cover —

- (a) ordinary expenditure,
- (b) capital expenditure,
- (c) contributions, when necessary, to the Working Capital Fund.

Article 12.—(1) Each part of the Budget, as defined in Article 9, shall consist of—

- (a) A summary of Chapters.
- (b) A full statement of items, showing for each, in addition to the sum asked for, the sum voted for the current year, and the sum voted for and the amount actually expended in the preceding year.
- (c) Wherever possible, detailed schedules and explanatory statements. The schedules shall be subdivided in accordance with the principles of Article 9.

(2) Important differences in the amounts estimated during successive years for the same items shall be fully explained by means of notes.

Article 13.—A list showing the names of the officials of the Secretariat and of other organisations, and setting out their nationalities, duties, salaries, and entertainment and house allowances (if any), shall be confidentially circulated to the Members of the League at the same time as the Budget, and to the Assembly at its regular annual session.

Article 14.—Modifications proposed in the estimates after the Budget has been circulated to the Members of the League shall, as far as possible, be included in one document; if necessary, a revised Budget shall be substituted for the original Budget. A supplementary Budget may be submitted to the Assembly by its Finance Committee.

CHAPTER IV.

ADOPTION OF THE BUDGET.

Article 15.—(1) The Secretary-General shall arrange for the Budget and the Annexes as described in the preceding chapter, together with a general introduction, to be submitted to the Commission before the 1st May of each year.

(2) In order to enable the Secretary-General to comply with the provisions of para. (1), the competent officials of the autonomous organisations shall supply the Secretary-General with the data required on or before a date to be fixed by the Secretary-General in agreement with the officials concerned.

Article 16.—(1) The Commission shall annually examine the Budget and prepare a report thereon in time for both documents to be despatched to the Council and the Members of the League three months before the regular annual session of the Assembly.

(2) The observations of the Council upon the Budget and upon the report of the Commission shall be despatched to the Members of the League in time for them to be received at least one month before the regular annual session of the Assembly.

(3) When the Commission is considering their respective Budgets, the autonomous organisations shall be represented before the Commission in such manner as they may decide and the Commission approve. A non-autonomous organisation shall be represented by the

Secretary-General, assisted by one of the officials especially responsible for its work, and, if so requested, by a member of the Advisory Committee.

(4) The Commission may not amend the Budget, as presented to it, but may propose modifications. The Commission will discuss such modifications (if any) with the competent official or authority, and report its conclusions to the Council and the Assembly.

Article 17.—(1) The Assembly shall not consider the Budget in plenary session until its Finance Committee has considered the Budget and the report of the Commission, and has presented its report.

(2) The Assembly may in plenary session make any amendments in the Budget which it may consider desirable. The consideration and the adoption of the Budget by the Assembly shall be governed by the rules made by the Assembly in that respect in exercise of the powers vested in it by the Covenant.

Article 18.—(1) When the Assembly or its Finance Committee discusses the budget of any autonomous organisation, such organisation may delegate one representative to assist at the meetings of the Assembly and as many representatives as the Finance Committee may approve to assist at the meetings of the Finance Committee. Such representative or representatives may be heard, but shall not address the meeting except on the invitation of the President.

(2) The Advisory Committee of a non-autonomous organisation may, in like manner, send a representative to attend at meetings of the Finance Committee of the Assembly at which its budget is discussed.

Article 19.—(1) Modifications in the Part of the Budget dealing with the Secrétariat proposed by the Secretary-General before the opening of the Assembly, shall, as far as possible, be submitted to the Council. Proposals for modification of a Part dealing with an autonomous organisation shall similarly be submitted to the competent authority of the organisation.

2.—(a) Reports by a Committee involving the expenditure of money must indicate whether the expenditure will constitute part of the general expenses of the League or whether it will be recovered from the Members of the League particularly concerned.

(b) Reports by a Committee other than the Finance Committee recommending action which will involve the expenditure of money shall be accompanied by as close an estimate as time and circumstances allow of the amount of the expenditure involved. This estimate shall, before the matter is brought before the Assembly, be submitted to the Fourth Committee in order that it may be checked by that Committee.

(c) No resolution involving expenditure shall in any case be voted by the Assembly before the Finance Committee shall have expressed its opinion on the advisability of the proposed expenditure from the point of view of general budgetary resources.

CHAPTER V.

COLLECTION OF FUNDS.

Article 20.—The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the manner prescribed by the Covenant.

Article 21.—(1) As soon as possible after the Assembly has adopted the Budget, and the total amount voted has been apportioned among the Members of the League in the manner prescribed by the Covenant, the Secretary-General shall transmit all relevant documents to the Members of the League and request them to remit their contributions as soon as possible after the beginning of the financial year for which they are due, and, in any case, to give notice when payment may be anticipated.

(2) If payment has not been made, and notice as to the anticipated date of payment has not been given by the first day of April following, the Secretary-General shall repeat his request. He shall again repeat his request at the end of three months, and at the end of a further three months, if such notice has still not been given, and if payment of the contribution has not in the meantime been made.

(3) If, when notice is given, the date proposed is too late to meet the needs of the League, the Secretary-General shall explain the position to the Member concerned. If no payment is made on the date proposed by the Member of the League or afterwards agreed upon, the Secretary-General shall be guided as to the action to be taken by the rule of paragraph (2).

(4) At the first session of the Council held after each of the dates mentioned in para. (2), the Secretary-General shall present to the Council a statement on the general financial position and on the steps which he has taken. A similar statement shall annually be presented to the Assembly. The Assembly will take such action as it may deem proper.

Article 22.—(1) States, not Members of the League, which have been admitted members of any organisation of the League, shall, in the absence of any contrary provision, contribute towards the expenses of the organisation concerned as nearly as possible in the proportion in which they would contribute to such expenses if they were Members of the League. This provision shall not apply to the case of a State, not a Member of the League, which accepts an invitation to participate in the work of a League organisation without any condition as to contributing to the expenses of the organisation.

(2) The total amount receivable in accordance with para. (1) shall be shown separately in the Budget, and, when received, shall be applied to reduce the total sum chargeable for the following year to the Members of the League.

(3) In the case of non-autonomous organisations, the Secretary-General shall secure that the amounts referred to in para. (1) are collected. Autonomous organisations shall themselves collect such amounts; the rules laid down in Article 21 shall apply as far as possible, and the competent officials shall supply the Secretary-General with the information necessary for the application of those rules.

Article 23.—Receipts, other than contributions payable by Governments, such as receipts from the sale of publications and other miscellaneous sources, and interest, shall, if possible, be estimated in advance and be deducted, as appropriations in aid, from the estimates put forward in the Budget.

CHAPTER VI.

APPROPRIATION OF FUNDS.

Article 24.—The adoption of a Budget by the Assembly shall constitute an authorisation to the competent officials or authorities to incur expenditure, during the year to which the Budget relates, for the purposes for which money has been voted in the Budget up to, but not exceeding, the amounts so voted.

Article 25.—The competent officials shall not allow any money to be expended for any purpose in excess of the amount provided in the Budget for such purpose. In order to prevent any such excess of expenditure they shall cause all payments, as made, to be appropriated to the proper item of the Budget, and shall keep a record of such appropriations and of liabilities incurred showing at all times the amount available under each item.

Article 26.—(1) On the receipt of each contribution, the Secretary-General shall distribute to the competent officials of the autonomous organisations the proportional amount to which each organisation is entitled. The share of each autonomous organisation shall bear the same proportion to the whole contribution as the estimates of such organisation bear to the whole estimates of expenditure of the League for the year to which the contribution relates.

(2) The Secretariat and the autonomous organisations shall share in the Working Capital Fund in a proportion determined, *mutatis mutandis*, on the principle of para. (1).

(3) Where the current requirements of the Secretariat, or of an autonomous organisation, within the limits of its budget, cannot be met out of its proportional share of the contributions hitherto received or other income, the Secretary-General shall make advances to meet such requirements out of the Working Capital Fund up to the amount of the organisation's proportional share in the Fund. An organisation may be advanced more than its proportional share of the fund as a temporary loan with the consent of the competent officials of the organisation, whose shares are thereby diminished.

Article 27.—(1) Where the advances which can be made under the preceding Article are not sufficient, the Secretary-General shall have power to contract loans within the limits of the Budget and with the approval of the Council, or, if the Council is not in session, of the President of the Council.

(2) The interest on such loans shall be charged to the various organisations in the proportion in which they benefit from them; but if any organisation has already received more than its proportional share of the Working Capital Fund, it shall, as from the date of contracting the loan, be charged interest on such excess as though it were money derived from the loan, and an equal amount of the loan shall be available, without interest, for the organisations whose shares of working capital have been depleted.

(3) The Secretary-General shall not borrow for any organisation in any year more than its proportional share (calculated on the same principle as its proportional share in contributions) of the total amount which he estimates that he can borrow during such year.

Article 28.—When a sum is voted in the Budget by the Assembly without specification of the precise purposes for which it is to be applied, no part of such sum shall be expended until a detailed statement as to the nature and object of the expenditure has been considered and approved by the competent authority.

Article 29.—Transfers from one item to another of the same Chapter of the Budget may be effected by special resolutions of the competent authority. Such resolutions shall at once be communicated to all Members of the League and to the Assembly at the beginning of its regular annual session.

Article 30.—(1) Payments in respect of transactions for which provision is made in the Budget of a particular year may be charged to the accounts of that year if they are made not later than the 15th day of February of the following year.

(2) Persons to whom any payment is due out of the Budget for any year shall be requested to submit their accounts in good time before 15th February of the following year, and shall, so far as is possible, be tendered payment before that date.

(3) There shall be included in each Part of the Budget for each year a fund, known as the "Unpaid Liabilities Fund," for the purpose of enabling the competent officials to pay debts which are due in respect of transactions covered by the Budget for the previous year, but which could not be paid in time to be chargeable to such year owing to unavoidable or excusable delay in the presentation or settlement of the accounts.

(4) Creditors who, after their attention has been called to the provisions of this Article, neglect to present their accounts in time to allow of payment by the prescribed date, if they cannot be paid out of the Unpaid Liabilities Fund without preventing payment therefrom of creditors who satisfy the requirements of paragraph (3), shall be informed that their accounts cannot be paid until the necessary sum has again been voted by the Assembly.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WORKING CAPITAL FUND: INVESTMENT OF FUNDS.

Article 31.—(1) The Working Capital Fund is a fund established for the purposes mentioned in Article 33 below, and constituted by monies voted by the Assembly and payable by the Members of the League, in addition to the sum voted for the expenses of the year.

(2) The Assembly alone is competent to decide whether, in any year, amounts shall be added to the Working Capital Fund. Additions other than those authorised by the Budget may not be made. The balance of income over expenditure for any year shall not be used for that purpose without a special resolution of the Assembly.

Article 32.—(1) The Working Capital Fund shall be administered as a separate account. As soon as a Member pays its contribution, the Working Capital Fund Account shall be immediately credited with a portion of the contribution corresponding to the ratio between the amount voted in respect of the Working Capital Fund for the year and the total amount voted for the year.

(2) The account shall be debited with the amounts withdrawn in accordance with these Regulations.

Article 33.—(1) In accordance with Article 26, paragraph (2), the Working Capital Fund is primarily applicable to meet temporarily normal requirements of regular organisations of the League which cannot be paid out of income at the time when they are due to be met. Such organisations shall have the first claim to assistance from the fund. The assistance shall be given in the form of advances from the fund to the competent officials of the organisations, and such advances shall be repaid to the fund as soon as the necessary income is available.

(2) Recoverable advances required for work undertaken by the League may be made from the Working Capital Fund if the money is not required for the regular organisations. Such advances must be authorised by a special resolution of the Council, which shall keep the Members of the League fully informed with regard to all such resolutions and advances.

(3) Repayments of recoverable advances shall be paid into the fund from which the advances were drawn pending a decision by the Assembly as to their final disposal.

Article 34.—The Secretary-General may place the Working Capital Fund, and any other funds not immediately required for use, on deposit at interest with the bankers of the League, or in other banks of internationally recognised standing, for such periods as he may consider desirable. The interest received shall be dealt with in accordance with Article 23.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ACCOUNTS.

Article 35.—The annual accounts shall consist of two parts :—

(1) A budget account showing for each item : (a) the original vote, (b) the vote as modified by any transfers which may have been approved by the competent authority, (c) the actual expenditure incurred.

(2) A statement of assets and liabilities as at the 31st December.

Article 36.—(1) A statement showing the position of the Working Capital Fund, based on the account mentioned in Article 31, shall be attached to the accounts as an annex.

(2) A statement showing for the past financial year (a) any recoverable advances made from the Working Capital Fund, and (b) any expenses borne on a vote for unforeseen expenses incurable only by special resolution of a competent authority, shall be annexed to the accounts.

Article 37.—(1) The procedure prescribed in Chapter IV with regard to the Budget shall *mutatis mutandis*, apply also to the accounts.

(2) The Secretary-General shall see that the accounts and the annexes for each year reach the Commission before 1st April of the following year.

(3) The provisions of Chapter IV concerning the representation of the various organisations at meetings of the Commission and the Assembly or its Finance Committee, shall also apply to the submission and discussion of the Accounts,

Article 38.—(1) The Assembly shall finally pass the expenditure and income accounts. It may disallow any item which it may consider improper and may direct the corresponding amendment of the accounts. The accounts, with the modifications (if any) made by the Assembly, shall be adopted by the Assembly.

(2) If the Assembly disallows any item in the accounts, it shall, at the same time, decide what steps shall be taken to deal with the matter.

CHAPTER IX.

INTERNAL CONTROL.

Article 39.—The competent officials shall designate the officials who may incur liabilities and make payments on behalf of, or out of the funds of, the respective organisations. They shall make rules to secure : (a) that no liabilities are incurred or payments made except by such officials, (b) that no liabilities are incurred which are not provided for in the Budget, (c) that no payment is made for which the liability has ceased, and (d) generally to establish strict control enforcing observance of the rules of this Article.

Article 40.—(1) The competent officials shall make rules to ensure the exercise of the greatest economy in incurring liabilities.

(2) In all cases in which it seems to be desirable, and in any event in the case of any single purchase of supplies likely to exceed 10,000 Swiss francs in cost, tenders shall be invited by advertisement in at least two leading newspapers belonging to different countries, and in the *Monthly Summary* of the League or an official publication of any autonomous organisation concerned.

(3) The competent officials shall determine who may open and accept tenders, and make rules for guidance in accepting tenders.

Article 41.—In order to ensure economy, the competent officials shall cause an accurate record to be kept of all capital acquisitions, and of all supplies purchased and used during each year, and shall submit to the auditor, with their accounts, a statement showing the stores in hand at the 31st December, distinguishing stores purchased from capital and stores purchased from revenue.

Article 42.—(1) The competent officials shall make rules prohibiting the use of the property or the services of the League for private purposes, except with due authorisation given in the interests of the League and subject to specific regulations.

(2) Such regulations shall provide for payment, unless there is a reason to forego payment in the interest of the League, and shall contain the necessary provisions to ensure that all payments due are regularly collected.

CHAPTER X.

EXTERNAL SUPERVISION.

Article 43.—(1) The provisions of the following Articles are without prejudice to the provisions of other Chapters defining the supervision exercisable by the Commission.

(2) The following Articles are without prejudice to the power of the Commission under other Chapters, where no special mention is made of the *rapporteur* or the auditor, to delegate to them powers and duties by the regulations which the Commission makes for the conduct of its business.

Article 44.—(1) The accounts of the League shall be audited by the auditor after the closing of the accounts for each year, and, in addition, three times during the course of each year.

(2) The three audits which are to be performed during the year shall be at such time as the Commission may determine, but reasonable notice shall be given in advance to the competent officials of the organisations concerned.

(3) The auditor shall report to the Commission upon each audit. The audit of the closed accounts of each year shall be completed and be submitted, with the auditor's report thereon, to the Commission not later than the 15th April in the year following.

Article 45.—The auditor shall be entitled to see, on demand, any document which is relevant to his examination of the accounts or other duties. Not later than the 10th of each month, a statement of receipts and expenditure for the preceding month shall be forwarded to him, together with the report of the Internal Control Officer.

Article 46.—For the purpose of each of the audits, the competent officials shall furnish to the auditor, at the seat of the organisation concerned, budget accounts, with vouchers, showing all receipts and payments for every completed month since the last audit down to the close of the preceding month.

Article 47.—(1) The auditor shall verify whether the receipts and payments are in accordance with the Budget and with the regulations.

(2) With respect to the payments, he shall in particular ascertain whether any sums have been paid which were not due, and whether any double or over-payments have been made.

(3) Any question which the Auditor may raise with regard to any receipt or payment, and upon which he is not satisfied by such verbal explanation as he may receive from the competent official, shall be put to such official and be answered by him in writing, and the question shall, if the reply is not satisfactory to the auditor, be placed before the Commission.

Article 48.—(1) The auditor shall include in his report upon the closed accounts for each year a statement dealing with :—

(a) The receipts of the League during the year.

(b) The amounts receivable at the 31st December.

(c) The amounts recoverable at the 31st December.

(d) The stores in hand at the 31st December

(e) The liabilities at the 31st December.

(f) Any other items which the Commission may deem it necessary to add hereto.

(2) In addition to the reports referred to in Article 44, the auditor may, if he thinks fit, report to the Commission from time to time, and shall so report if the Commission so determines.

Article 49.—(1) After considering the reports submitted by the auditor, the *rapporteur* shall draft a general report on the accounts of each year for the consideration of the Commission. This report shall deal in detail with all matters likely to be of interest concerning the financial administration of the League during the year in question.

(2) The *rapporteur* shall at once send to the competent officials copies of the parts of his draft report relating to their organisations.

FINAL PROVISIONS.

Article 50.—(1) Rules made by the competent officials, in order to carry out the provisions of these regulations, shall be communicated to the Commission in due time before the next session of the Commission.

(2) The rules of internal financial administration hitherto in force in the various organisations shall be brought into conformity with these regulations.

Article 51.—These Regulations shall not be amended except by the Assembly acting upon the advice of its Finance Committee ; but where it is proved to the Commission that some alteration or addition is urgently required, the Commission is authorised to approve and put into temporary operation such alteration or addition, but shall report thereon to the Council and the Assembly as soon as possible for final decision by the latter.

Article 52.—The present Regulations shall come into force on the 1st January 1923.

ANNEX III.—*Report of the First Committee on the Allocation of the Expenses of the League of Nations.* (Rapporteur, M. de Palacios, Delegate of Spain.)

I.—SCALE OF ALLOCATION.

In accordance with the decision taken by the Assembly at its second meeting on 4th September, the First Committee has considered the report submitted by the Committee on Allocation of Expenses, presided over by M. Réveillaud, in which is set out an amended provisional scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League of Nations amongst the Member States.

The President of the present Assembly suggested, in the course of the remarks which he made when this question was referred to the First Committee, that that Committee should consult the Fourth Committee should it find it necessary to do so. After the report of the Réveillaud Committee had been read in the First Committee, and the various members of that Committee had expressed in general terms the extent to which the Governments which they represented were prepared to accept the proposals contained therein, the First Committee proceeded to the nomination of a Sub-Committee. This Sub-Committee held a number of joint sessions with a parallel Sub-Committee of the Fourth Committee appointed to collaborate with it

This mixed Sub-Committee, whose report is annexed hereto, after hearing the statements put forward by the representatives of those Members of the League which considered that the scale proposed by the Réveillaud Committee might be further improved, suggested that the number of units which the Réveillaud Committee attributed to Japan, Sweden and Roumania should be reduced by two in each case, and the number of units attributed to Norway, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Cuba, and Venezuela should be reduced in each case by one. This reduction was rendered possible by the generous action of the Polish Delegation, which made a voluntary offer on behalf of its Government to pay 10 more units than the Réveillaud Committee had suggested, and further, by the admission of Hungary to League membership. The mixed Sub-Committee proposed that the allocation of Hungary should be four units.

The First Committee, after considering the recommendations put forward by this joint Sub-Committee, and being apprised of the fact that the Fourth Committee had no observations to make upon it, accepted the resulting scale of contributions with one dissentient voice. The scale thus adopted is as follows:—

States.	Units.	States.	Units.
Albania	1	Japan	73
Argentina*	(35)	Latvia	5-2=3
Australia	26	Liberia	1
Austria	1	Lithuania	5-1=4
Belgium	20-5=15	Luxemburg	1
Bolivia	5	Netherlands	20
Brazil	35	New Zealand	10
British Empire	95	Nicaragua	1
Bulgaria	7	Norway	11
Canada	35	Panama	1
Chile	15	Paraguay	1
China	65	Peru	10
Colombia	7	Persia	10-4=6
Costa Rica	1	Poland	25
Cuba	9	Portugal	10
Czecho-Slovakia	35	Roumania	40-9=31
Denmark	12	Salvador	1
Estonia	5-2=3	Serb-Croat-Slovene State	35-9=26
Finland	10	Siam	10
France	95-17=78	South Africa	15
Greece	10	Spain	40
Guatemala	1	Sweden	18
Haiti	2	Switzerland	15
Honduras	1	Uruguay	7
Hungary	4	Venezuela	5
India	65		
Italy	73-12=61		

* Subject to any observations which may be made by the Argentine Government. No corresponding provision will be made in the accounts.

II.—LEGAL POSITION.

It will be remembered that last year the Second Assembly of the League of Nations passed an amendment to Article 6 of the Covenant, under which the last paragraph of that article was replaced by the following words:—

“The expenses of the League of Nations shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly.”

Unfortunately, the number of ratifications requisite to the enforcement of this amendment have not yet been received. Since, in the view of the First Committee, the scale set out above should replace the scale proposed by the second and third amendments to Article 6 of the Covenant carried by the last Assembly, the ratification of these two amendments is no longer requisite. But the Committee ventures to draw the attention of the Assembly to the great desirability of an immediate ratification of the first amendment in order that a definitive scale may be established at the earliest possible date. In view, however, of the general opinion of the Members of the League of Nations that the scale of the Universal Postal Union is unjust and inequitable, the First Committee considers it imperative for the general interest of all Members of the League of Nations that some practical solution of the problem should immediately be reached, and that the recognised injustices involved by the Universal Postal Union's scale should not be continued as a result of a too rigid application of a strict interpretation of the Covenant. It therefore has the honour to submit to the Assembly the provisional solution for the year 1923 contained in the following resolutions:—

The Assembly,

Considering that it is desirable to modify as soon as possible the system of allocation of the expenses of the League of Nations among its Members and to replace the scale of the Universal Union now in force by a more just and equitable scale;

And considering that the scale annexed to the present resolution has been recognised by general consent as establishing a more just and equitable system for the allocation of the said expenses, and that it is recognised to be desirable to secure the immediate application of this scale as a provisional measure;

Approves the application of the above-mentioned scale for the allocation of the said expenses for the year 1923.

The Assembly requests the Council to ask the Committee for the Allocation of Expenses, presided over by M. Réveillaud, to continue its researches with a view to preparing a definitive scale which may be submitted to a subsequent Assembly. The Assembly leaves it to the Council to modify the composition of the Committee as it thinks desirable.

It begs the Council to notify the Members of the League of Nations that it is no longer necessary to continue the ratification of the Amendments No. 2 and No. 3 of Article 6, voted by the Assembly of 1922, but, on the other hand, to urge them to proceed urgently to the ratification of the first amendment.

ANNEX.

Report submitted to the First Committee by the Mixed Sub-Committee instructed to examine the Réveillaud Scheme.

At the meeting held on 16th September, the First Committee instructed the Sub-Committee appointed on 6th September, and increased by the addition of two new members, to consider, in collaboration with the Sub-Committee of the Fourth Committee, the Réveillaud scheme concerning the funds of the League.

COLLABORATION WITH THE FOURTH COMMITTEE.

The first question raised concerned the decision as to whether the report of the Sub-Committee should be submitted for discussion to the First or to the Fourth Committee. In this connection reference was made to the recommendation voted by the Fourth Committee at its seventh meeting requesting the Sub-Committee it had instructed to consider the question of the allocation of expenses to draft a report in agreement with the Sub-Committee appointed for the same purpose by the First Committee. This report would be submitted to the First Committee for information and to the Fourth Committee for discussion. As some difference of opinion had arisen on this point, the Sub-Committee consulted the verbatim records of the Second Plenary Meeting of the Third Assembly, at which meeting the various committees had been set up. M. Edwards' proposal, in the form in which it was accepted by the Assembly, laid down that the First Committee (constitutional and judicial questions) should deal, among other matters, with item No 18 on the agenda, namely, the "Allocation of Expenses." The Fourth Committee (Financial and budgetary questions) would deal with item No. 20, namely, the "Budget, verification of accounts and the administration of the finances of the League." M. Edwards pointed out, however, that the question of the allocation of expenses included under item No. 18 might give rise to doubt. This question "could be referred to the First Committee, as it is rather of a constitutional character. Last year it was examined jointly by the First and Fourth Committees, and I have no doubt that the First Committee would consult the Fourth Committee on this matter this year if it found it necessary to do so." In view of this text, and after the Chairmen of the First and Fourth Committees had been consulted, a unanimous agreement was arrived at, to the effect that the two Sub-Committees should form a mixed committee, but that, subject to the observations which might be made by the Fourth Committee with respect to the proposed scale, the report should be submitted by the Chairman of the Sub-Committee to the First Committee for discussion.

HUNGARY'S CONTRIBUTION.

The Sub-Committee is of opinion that the contribution of Hungary, which has just been admitted to the League of Nations, must not be based solely upon the index figure obtained in the same way as for other States, as the index based upon the figures of the pre-war Hungarian budget places Hungary much too high in the scale and in no way corresponds to the real situation of this country. The Committee is therefore of opinion that the figure of five units, which is more or less empirical, appears not to exceed the amount which might reasonably be expected from this country. The Sub-Committee agreed as to the desirability of distributing the amount of these units as far as possible between all the Members of the League, and that they should not be employed in order to relieve some Members only, particularly as Poland's generous proposal through her first delegate left 10 units at their disposal, which should be favourably considered.

STATEMENTS MADE BY DELEGATES REQUESTING REDUCTIONS IN THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS PROPOSED IN THE NEW SCALE OF THE RÉVEILLAUD COMMITTEE.

The Sub-Committee next heard those delegates who wished to make a verbal statement requesting reductions in their contributions.

The Japanese Delegate stated that his Government considered excessive the sudden increase of 10 units allocated to his country, as compared with the scale adopted by the Second Assembly. In his opinion, Japan was the only country whose contribution had been so markedly increased, since the case of Australia was based upon special considerations which had been stated in the verbal report made on 6th September to the First Committee by M. Réveillaud.

Japan was at present passing through an acute economic crisis, and the Government intended to effect important reductions in its army and navy. The Japanese Delegate therefore requested that the increase might be limited to 5 units instead of 10, as had been proposed in the scale drawn up by the Réveillaud Committee.

The Norwegian and Swedish Delegates both requested that their contributions should not be altered from the figures in the scale fixed by the Second Assembly. They stated that, in the new scale the units allocated to Norway had been increased from 10 to 12, and those allocated to Sweden from 15 to 20.

In the opinion of the Delegates, last year's scale had already taxed these two countries to their utmost paying capacity as compared with the paying capacity of other countries. The new proposed scheme which was certainly less unfair than that of the Universal Postal Union would still lay an undue burden on these countries. They also pointed out that the two amendments to Article 6 of the Covenant had been ratified by their Governments, and that it was therefore very difficult to request their Parliaments to reconsider this question, especially when a new increase of credits was involved.

The Lithuanian Delegate pleaded the devastated condition of his country, and requested the same treatment as that accorded to the two Baltic States.

The Luxemburg Delegate requested that his country should be placed in the last category, as it was by far the smallest of all the Members of the League and its finances were at present in a very unsatisfactory condition.

The Roumanian Delegate emphasised the sufferings of his country during the war, the devastations which had been committed, and the financial difficulties arising from the transfer to Moscow of the gold reserve and of all securities. He left to the Committee the task of deciding what reduction it could grant Roumania.

The Cuban Delegate asked the Committee to grant a reduction of three units. In support of his request he advanced certain figures showing that the situation of his country was at present most unfavourable. It had passed through the most serious economic and financial crisis as a result of the considerable decrease in the sugar exports, which constituted its principal source of wealth.

The Hungarian Delegate asked the Committee to fix the contribution of his country at one unit. In support of his request he put forward the charges resulting from the Treaty of Trianon as well as the financial and economic difficulties of his country caused by the great depreciation in its currency.

The Persian Delegate stated that when Persia was about to join the League, she enquired what her contribution would be and was told that it would be between 100,000 and 125,000 gold francs. Persia has always paid this amount and was willing to continue to do so. As he had received very precise instructions on the subject, he could not possibly agree to a contribution of more than 125,000 gold francs, but he would not fail to explain the position to his Government and to use his influence to induce his Government to agree to the new allocation scheme.

PROPOSAL MADE BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE REDUCTIONS TO BE GRANTED.

The Sub-Committee, after having examined the foregoing requests, shared M. Réveillaud's view that there were, in any case, three countries at least whose claims were undoubtedly justified. It therefore unanimously proposed that Lithuania should be granted a reduction of one unit in view of the devastation which that country had suffered. On the other hand, the Sub-Committee considered that the figure of four units was not excessive compared with the three units of the two Baltic States, whose population was much smaller. The Committee proposed a supplementary reduction of two units to be granted to Roumania and a reduction of one unit to Luxemburg, which would thus be placed for the time being in the last category.

After a full discussion on the advisability of granting reductions in respect of the contributions of certain other countries, the Committee proposed a reduction of one unit for Cuba and Venezuela. As regards Japan, Sweden and Norway, after some discussion, the Committee, wishing to reconcile the various opinions and to remove the remaining difficulties, finally decided to support M. Réveillaud's proposal to reduce Japan and Sweden by two units and Norway by one. The Japanese and Swedish representatives, both of whom were members of the Mixed Committee, unanily gave their personal approval to this reduction, which involves an increase of eight units for Japan and of three units for Sweden as compared with the scale adopted last year. In the same spirit the Committee has finally decided to propose a reduction of one unit for Persia and of one unit for Hungary, which would thus contribute four units only.

The reductions proposed by the Committee were therefore as follows:—

	Units.		Units.
Japan	2	Cuba	1
Sweden	2	Venezuela	1
Roumania	2	Persia	1
Norway	1		—
Lithuania	1		—
Luxemburg	1	Total	12
			—

As this figure of 12 units exceeded the number of units available in consequence of the offer made by Poland, the Sub-Committee proposes that two units should be taken from the four units proposed for Hungary, reserving the remaining two units in favour of all the other Members of the League in accordance with the wish expressed above.

The Sub-Committee, having been notified of the resolution taken by the First Committee at its ninth meeting, namely, that the number of units allotted to the Argentine Republic should be fixed, suggested the number of 35 for the new scale proposed with the reservation defined in the resolution in question.

The Sub-Committee further recommends that the units for each country be published in the same manner as was adopted in the report of the Allocation Committee, but that the units for Italy be changed from $75 - 14 = 61$ to $73 - 12 = 61$.

ADDENDUM.*

Point of Order opposed by India to Discussion of the Report of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses. Report by Sub-Committee I. (Legal Committee).

The Committee was instructed to consider and report on the preliminary objection raised by the Indian and Venezuelan representatives to the consideration by the First Committee of the report, dated 4th July 1922 of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses (known as the "Réveillaud" Committee).

The objection is based on Rule 4, para. 5, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly. These rules are applicable to proceedings of committees of the Assembly. Rule 4, para. 5, says that no proposals for the modification of the allocation of expenses for the time being in force shall be inserted in the agenda unless it has been communicated to the Members of the League at least four months before the date fixed for the opening of the session.

The Committee has had three meetings, at one of which Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar, representative of India, was present and explained in detail his point of view. After hearing these explanations and considering all the material at its disposal, the Committee has the honour to submit the following report:

Rule 4, para. 5, of the Rules of Procedure was adopted by the Second Assembly on 5th October 1921. The origin of this rule is shown by the records of the Fourth Committee of the Second Assembly. It was part of the new scheme worked out by that Committee for the allocation of the expenses of the League on a more satisfactory basis than the scale laid down in the Postal Union. The central idea of this new scheme was to confer upon the Assembly the right to determine the allocation of expenses. (See Amendment I. to Article VI. adopted on 5th October 1921: "The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly.") In order to protect the States Members of the League against sudden modifications of the table of distribution, it was decided that no proposal for the modification of the allocation of the expenses was to be inserted in the agenda unless it had been distributed to the Members four months before the meeting of the Assembly. But in order not to encumber the Covenant with a rule of mere procedure, it was at the same time decided that the provision should not figure in the above amendment but should be put in the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly.

The Sub-Committee feel that it is unfortunate that the Fourth Committee of the Assembly, in giving to its proposals partly the form of an amendment to the Covenant and partly that of an amendment of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, did not realise that the Assembly itself could modify its Rules of Procedure and that the modification would come into force immediately upon its adoption, whereas the amendment of the Covenant could not become operative until after the expiry of several months when the necessary ratifications had been obtained. Nothing was inserted in the text of the new Rule of Procedure as adopted in 1921 to indicate that it was intended only to apply as and when the Assembly had secured the control of the allocation of the expenses of the League; and in these circumstances some members of the Sub-Committee feel it impossible to report that this rule—Rule 4, para. 5—does not apply to the agenda of the present Assembly.

It is, on the other hand, clear to the Committee that the Second Assembly was definitely of opinion that any further report made by the Réveillaud Committee should be discussed at the Assembly of 1922, for they find in the report of Sir Rennell Rodd, presented in the name of the Fourth Committee to the Assembly, and accepted by it, the following passage:—

"The Fourth Committee then decided that all other proposals for modification of the scale of allocation and the memoranda submitted in support of them should be referred to the expert Committee for investigation in connection with the revised scheme which it is to prepare. It will, of course, be open to this Committee to hear the representatives of such countries as desire to express their views and to present any results which are ready in time to the Assembly of 1922."

* This report was not annexed to the report of the first committee to the Assembly.

It will be remembered that the Assembly adopted the earlier scheme of the Réveillaud Committee as a provisional scheme only and passed the following resolution :—

“The Assembly, recognising that the proposals of the expert Committee (A. 40, 1921) are still susceptible of improvements and adjustments after a more exhaustive investigation of the data, recommends that this Committee, so ably presided over by M. Réveillaud, be re-appointed by the Council to continue its work and, after taking account of the various factors not yet fully examined, to submit a further report indicating such modifications of the allocation provisionally accepted as it may deem equitable.”

In view of the passages quoted above it is clear that it would not have been in accordance with the wishes expressed at the Assembly of 1921 that the discussion of the new Report of the Réveillaud Committee should be postponed until the Assembly of 1923, and the Committee is of opinion that the Secretary-General acted wisely in inserting in the agenda the item “Allocation of the Expenses of the League,” though it would have been more correct to treat the item as inserted under 2 (c) (“Items ordered by the Assembly”) than under 2 (d) (“Items proposed by the Council”).

The above conclusion does not, however, absolve the Committee from advising on the legal question referred to it, viz., whether Rule 4, para. 5, prevents the First Commission from considering the new report of the Réveillaud Committee dated 4th July 1922.

It will be observed that Rule 4 deals exclusively with the framing of the agenda. It does not deal with the discussion either in the Assembly or in Committee of the items included in the agenda. The agenda was circulated in its revised form on 1st September 1922, was brought before the Assembly in its Second Plenary Session on 4th September for adoption, and was then adopted unanimously. In the text of the agenda as circulated on 1st September, reference was given to the Assembly Documents relating to the particular items, and as regards Item 8 (Allocation of the Expenses of the League), there is a reference to “Document A. 8,” which is the report of the Réveillaud Committee dated 4th July.

In these circumstances the Committee is of opinion that the Members of the Assembly had notice when they adopted the agenda and referred Item 18 to the First Commission that the question being referred to that Committee for consideration was the Réveillaud Report. Any objection to the insertion of this item in the agenda should, therefore, have been taken at the meeting of the Assembly. The unanimous adoption of the agenda by the Assembly cures any irregularity which there may have been in connection with the insertion of the item.

The Committee is therefore, of opinion that there is no objection to the consideration of the Report in question by the First Committee.

ANNEX IV.—*Report by First Committee on the Contribution of the State of Salvador to the Expenses of the League.* (Rapporteur, M. Struycken.)

The First Committee appointed a Sub-Committee to examine the various legal questions raised by Salvador in regard to its contribution to the League.

The Sub-Committee consisted of : MM. F. J. Urrutia,* Sir Cecil Hurst, A. H. Struycken, G. Noblemaire (who was replaced by M. Réveillaud) and H. Rolin.

M. Struycken was appointed *Rapporteur*.

The Sub-Committee presented the annexed report to the Committee.

As the result of the discussions which took place in the Committee, the following resolution was adopted :—

“The Committee proposes to the Assembly that the report which it has received from its Sub-Committee on the claim of Salvador be transmitted without discussion to the Council of the League, together with copies of the procès-verbaux of the Committee and of the discussions which have taken place within it, in order that the Council may take such action in the matter as it considers appropriate.”

REPORT BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE.

By various communications addressed to the Director of the International Labour Office and to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Salvador has raised certain important questions concerning the contributions of that country to the expenses of the League of Nations.

These questions relate—

- (1) To the expenses of the International Labour Organisation.
- (2) To those expenses of the League of Nations which are not in a strict sense connected with the working of the Secretariat.

* M. Urrutia was prevented by the numerous duties resting upon him as the sole delegate of Colombia at the Assembly from taking part in the discussions of the Sub-Committee.

(1) In regard to the expenses of the International Labour Organisation, the Government of Salvador declares that not having signed the Treaty of Versailles which created the Organisation, it does not consider itself as obliged to contribute to the expenses which it involves. The simple fact that Salvador has acceded to the League of Nations does not, in the opinion of its Government, oblige it to bear its part of such expenses.

It is true that there is no clause in the Covenant expressly imposing upon Members of the League the obligation of contributing to the expenses of the Labour Organisation. The Treaty of Versailles, of which the Covenant forms an integral part, stipulates, however, in Article 387 that the original Members of the League of Nations shall be the original Members of the Labour Organisation, and that hereafter membership of the League of Nations shall carry with it membership of the said Organisation; and, furthermore, Article 392 of the same Treaty provides that the International Labour Office shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organisation of the League. Finally, Article 319 determines that, with the exception of certain expenses mentioned in the first paragraph of the Article, all the expenses of the International Labour Office and of the meetings of the Conference and of the Governing Body shall be paid to the Director by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations out of the general funds of the League.

The above provisions show that the Treaty of Versailles has created very intimate relations between the League of Nations and the Labour Organisation, and, in particular, that it has from the start imposed upon the former the obligation of paying the expenses of the latter.

The Treaty of Versailles is the international instrument from which the League of Nations springs. The coming into force of the Treaty simultaneously established the League and placed it under the obligations defined in Part XIII. of the Treaty as regards relations with the International Labour Organisation.

The obligation to bear the expenses of the Labour Organisation was, therefore, constituted a fundamental obligation of the League of Nations by the instrument which gave the latter being, and is an obligation incumbent upon it from its birth, that is to say, from the date of the coming into force of the Treaty of Versailles. The legal situation thus created is not merely binding upon the Members of the League of Nations who were parties to the Treaty of Versailles, but also binds with equal force States which, under Article 1 of the Covenant and its Annex, were invited to accede to the Covenant without reservation and accepted this invitation after the coming into force of the Treaty. Salvador is one of the latter States.

The Treaty of Versailles once in force, and the League of Nations once established, States which were not parties to the Treaty could not accede to the Covenant, could not become Members of the League, without becoming Members of the League as it was constituted at the moment of their accession, that is to say, bound by the relations and subjected to the obligations specified by the Treaty, and in particular those contained in Part XIII. concerning the Labour Organisation.

In the same manner as, in private life, a member who attaches himself to an existing association cannot refuse to recognise obligations of the association which existed before he joined, even if such obligations are not formulated in its statutes, so a State which without reservation becomes a Member of the League of Nations cannot dispute obligations resting upon the League before the State's accession, and can the less do so in the present case in view of the circumstances that it is a question of obligations under the burden of which the League was born, and that Salvador has by its accession acquired the quality of an original Member of the League.

It appears, moreover, from the facts set out below, that it is in the above sense that accession to the Covenant has been and was bound to be understood by all the Members of the League of Nations.

Even before the coming into force of the Covenant, all the Allied and Associated States who signed the Treaty of Versailles, and all the Powers mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant as entitled to accede to the Covenant, were convoked by the President of the United States to the first meeting of the annual Labour Conference provided for by Part XIII. of the Treaty.

The notice of convocation, which was issued in virtue of Article 424 of the Treaty, was in the following terms:—

“The President of the United States, in accordance with the provisions of Part XIII. of the Peace Treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany, signed at Versailles on 28th June 1919, and under authority vested in him by Congress, hereby convenes the first meeting of the annual Labour Conference, to assemble in Washington at noon on the 9th day of October 1919. The Government of the United States extends to each nation which is, or which prior to said meeting shall become, a Member of the International Labour Organisation as defined in Article 387, an invitation to send its delegates and other representatives to Washington for the purpose of attending such Conference.”

The very terms of this invitation show clearly that the States were invited in the indivisible capacity of Members of the League of Nations and Members of the Labour Organisation, for Article 387, to which the invitation refers, is the provision which gives to a Member of the

League of Nations the quality of a Member of the Labour Organisation. Moreover, the invitation is based on Part XIII. of the Treaty of Versailles, and this circumstance shows that the provisions of the Treaty relating to the League of Nations were considered to be obligatory upon its Members.

In response to the above invitation, both the States which signed the Treaty of Versailles and the States invited to accede to the Covenant met at Washington on and after 29th October 1919, and pursued their deliberations in accordance with the provisions of Part XIII. of the Treaty.

Among these States was Salvador, whose representative, M. Salvador Sol, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, took part in the meetings of the Conference.

By the above action both Salvador and all the other States attending the Conference recognised the legal relationship between the League of Nations and the Labour Organisation, even before the Treaty of Versailles came into operation.

The Treaty of Versailles came into force on 10th January 1920. Two days later, the President of the Peace Conference despatched to the Prime Ministers of the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant as "States invited to accede to the Covenant" a telegram informing them of this fact and inviting them to accede to the Covenant within the two months following the coming into force of the Treaty; and a certified true copy of the Treaty of Versailles was transmitted to their diplomatic representatives at Paris.

Even if it had not previously possessed such knowledge, none of the States in question could thereafter be ignorant of the text of the Treaty of Versailles and the relations which it established between the League of Nations and the Labour Organisation, or of the financial liabilities resulting therefrom for the League.

All the invited States accepted the invitation by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat of the League. The declaration made by Paraguay and Spain alone expressly mentioned the Labour Organisation. The other declaration expressed merely accession without reservation to the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Government of Salvador made such a declaration on 10th March 1920.

Thenceforward, all the States which acceded to the Covenant have considered themselves as being, in virtue of this fact, Members both of the League of Nations and of the Labour Organisation, and they have all recognised the obligatory character of Article 399 of the Treaty of Versailles which binds the League of Nations to pay the expenses of the Labour Organisation.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Salvador, alone, by a letter of 24th June 1920, addressed to the International Labour Office, declared that his Government, although it acceded to the Covenant of the League, which forms an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles, could not consider itself as bound by the Treaty, but merely as bound by the provisions contained in the Covenant, and that in consequence it did not feel itself obliged to respond to the invitation of the Labour Office to fulfil the duties imposed by Article 412 of the Treaty.

To this unexpected reservation, which in any case was difficult to reconcile with the fact that Salvador had been represented at the first Session of the Labour Conference in 1919, the Labour Office replied by a letter of 28th September 1920, giving reasons to show that Salvador was bound, like all the other Members of the League of Nations, to discharge the obligations imposed by Part XIII. of the Treaty of Versailles.

The Government of Salvador did not reply to this letter.

Shortly afterwards there was held at Geneva the first session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, at which Salvador was duly represented.

In its discussion and resolutions, the Assembly constantly adopted the view that the provisions of Part XIII. of the Treaty of Versailles were binding upon the League without any reservations or restriction.

In particular no one—and to this the delegation of Salvador was not an exception—ever questioned in any way that the League of Nations, under Article 399 of the Treaty, was obliged to bear the expenses of the International Labour Organisation.

In the report on the work of the Council of the League, which was presented to the first session of the Assembly, the legal relations between the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation were indicated in the following terms:—

"The Council has recognised the International Labour Organisation as constituted by the first Labour Conference held at Washington in November 1919, and has affirmed the principle of a close co-operation between the International Labour Office and the Secretariat.

"Articles 398 and 399 of the Treaty of Versailles define the relations between the International Labour Office and the Secretariat. The Secretary-General is to give his assistance to the Labour Office so far as is in his power, and the expenses of the International Labour Organisation are to be included in the budget of the League and paid to the Director of the Labour Office by the Secretary-General."

In the discussion which took place upon this report, the statement quoted gave rise to no objection or observation on the part of any of the Members of the Assembly, not excepting Salvador.

In the first three budgets of the League, which correspond respectively to the periods 5th May 1919 to 30th June 1920; 1st July to 31st December 1920, and the year 1921, provision is made for the expense of the International Labour Office. These budgets were voted upon and adopted unanimously by the Assembly without any objection on the point being raised by any delegation. The delegation of Salvador raised no objection and did not vote against the budgets in the form in which they were presented to the Assembly.

It follows from the above facts that all Members of the League of Nations, including Salvador, have implicitly recognised the legal duty of the League to pay the expenses of the International Labour Organisation, in accordance with the provisions of Article 399 of the Treaty of Versailles.

It was not until 10th May 1921 that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Salvador, in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, took exception to the inclusion of these expenses in the budget of the League. The inclusion of the expenses being legally obligatory and having been affirmed to be so by all Members of the League of Nations, including Salvador, the Government of Salvador cannot now raise objection either in regard to previous financial periods or future financial periods of the League.

(1) As regards those expenses of the League of Nations which are not in a strict sense connected with the working of the Secretariat, the Government of Salvador, in its letter to the Secretary-General of 10th May 1921, relies upon the provisions of the fifth paragraph of Article 6 of the Covenant for the purpose of contesting the duty of Members of the League to contribute to such expenses.

The provisions in question are :—

“The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.”

It is difficult to understand why the Covenant mentions only the expenses of the Secretariat when dealing with the distribution of expenses. At the same time the restricted expression employed in the Covenant cannot be an obstacle to the application of the general principle, a principle applicable to all associations, that legally incurred expenses of an association must be borne by all its members in common.

Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Covenant, under which the Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League, is in itself sufficient to show that the Covenant did not intend to exclude from the expenses of the League charges which were not expenses of the Secretariat.

The Government of Salvador alleges that the circumstance that the expenses mentioned in paragraph 3 of Article 24 are included in the expenses of the Secretariat does not imply that they are chargeable to all the Members of the League; but this view is incompatible with the clear and precise text of Articles 6 and 24 of the Covenant.

It is, moreover, certain that, from the beginning of its existence, the League of Nations has given to the provisions of the Covenant the broad and reasonable interpretation set out above.

This is abundantly evident from the discussion and votes of the Assembly of 1920 (at which Salvador was represented) upon the first three financial periods of the League, as well as from the discussions of financial questions which have taken place during later sessions of the Assembly.

In all the budgets have been included expenses of a different character from expenses of the Secretariat, and no delegation has ever objected to this procedure.

It follows that Salvador, having raised no objection to the first three budgets which were unanimously voted by the Assembly of 1920, must be considered to have made herself without reservation a party to the interpretation of the Covenant which was the basis of such votes.

It should also be noted that Salvador is shown as a debtor to the extent of 1,948*l.* in a list of contributions paid by or due from the various Members of the League for the expenses of the period down to 30th June 1920, which was distributed to the Members of the Assembly of 1920, as well as in the balance sheet for the same period, which was distributed in the same manner, and that she made no objection.

Furthermore, the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly were unanimously adopted by the First Assembly, and no delegation, not excepting that of Salvador, offered the slightest opposition to the general language of Article 4 (*f*) which includes as an obligatory item in the agenda “the Budget for the next fiscal period and the report on the accounts for the last fiscal period,” general terms which comprise all the expenses of the League.

For the above reasons it appears that the Government of Salvador having accepted in the manner described the just and equitable interpretation of the Covenant by which all the Members of the League are to contribute to all its legally incurred expenses, cannot be entitled to refuse to pay its share of such expenses determined in accordance with the principle of Article 6, or such other principle as may be substituted therefor.

In his letter of 10th May 1921, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Salvador remarks that some of the expenses of the League of Nations do not interest all its Members in the same degree, but are incurred rather for the particular advantage of certain Members. He infers that it would be inequitable to charge such expenses to all the Members of the League, including those which do not benefit by them.

This is an observation as to a matter of fact which is certainly interesting and which has, moreover, already led to various proposals, both in the Council and in the competent Committees of the League. It raises a question which it seems ought to be given a satisfactory solution at an early date, but it cannot modify the legal point of view upon which this Sub-Committee bases its conclusions.

CONCLUSIONS.

The Sub-Committee is of opinion—

(1) That the expenses of the Labour Organisation as determined by Article 399, paragraph 2, of the Treaty of Versailles, should be included among the expenses of the League and be borne by all its Members, including Salvador, in the proportions established by Article 6 of the Covenant.

(2) That the expenses of the League which fall to be borne by all its Members are not limited to such expenses as are connected in a strict sense with the working of the Secretariat, but include all expenses legally incurred by the organs of the League and inscribed in its annual Budget as voted by the Assembly, and that Salvador cannot consequently refuse to pay its appropriate share of such expenses.

ANNEX V.—*Report by the Second Committee on the Work of the Finance and Economic Committee.*

(A.)—REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE.

[Rapporteur: M. Holsti (Finland).]

A year ago, when the eminent Chairman of the Economic and Financial Committee, M. Gustave Ador, presented to the Assembly the report of the Second Committee upon the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League, he reminded the Assembly how profoundly troubled was the economic situation of the world at that time, and he pointed out how the work of the Economic and Financial Committee had been rendered difficult on this account.

The present year, in considering the report of the Financial Committee, the Second Committee has been deeply impressed throughout its discussions by the fact that this grave situation still continues. The Financial Committee has itself drawn attention to the violent changes and the extreme uncertainty which have characterised the financial condition of the world during the past 12 months, and the Second Committee has fully appreciated how difficult it has been for the Financial Committee to achieve successful results in these circumstances. For this very reason the Second Committee appreciates all the more the readiness with which the distinguished members of the Financial Committee have devoted their time and their special abilities to the service of the League of Nations.

The distinctive task of the Financial Committee is to maintain the essential value of the resolutions of the Brussels Financial Conference and to promote their application. The principles embodied in these resolutions have since been confirmed by the Second Assembly and again endorsed by the Genoa Conference. The very evils from which the financial and economic activities of the world are suffering require, as one of their fundamental remedies, the application of these principles.

The Second Committee has noted the extent to which the Financial Committee has tried to assist in putting these resolutions into practice in different cases. It trusts that the Financial Committee, while remaining, in the future, as in the past, strictly respectful of the sovereign independence of the States Members of the League, will continue to do its utmost to recommend and promote the application of the principles of sound finance.

The financial and economic publications already undertaken are a valuable contribution to this work. The Second Committee recommends that they should be continued and, within prudent limits, extended, so as to throw light upon the more important aspects of national and international finance.

In addition to the promotion of sound financial principles, which the Financial Committee rightly regards as its constant duty, the Committee has been chiefly occupied with rendering advice to the Council on various specific questions which have called for its attention. At the

request of the Council, the Committee has examined the possibility of rendering technical assistance to the Albanian Government. In agreement with that Government, the Committee has examined the economic and financial situation of Albania and is about to publish a report by a distinguished economic expert. This is the first comprehensive statement on the resources and the economic possibilities of Albania. In agreement with the Albanian Government, moreover, the Committee is about to propose the nomination of a financial adviser who should render great assistance to that Government in the difficult tasks with which it is certain to be faced in the organisation and consolidation of the new State. The Assembly will note with pleasure that the interest which the League of Nations has shown in the affairs of Albania is being continued in this practical manner.

Another problem with which the Committee has dealt is the finances of the Free City of Danzig. At the request of the Council, the Financial Committee examined this problem, and its report has led to a recommendation to the Reparations Commission to take into early consideration the possibility of modifying the claims upon Danzig arising out of the Armistice and the Treaty of Versailles. The Financial Committee has continued its investigations in order to examine the grave problem created for the Free City by the continued depreciation of her currency. It has come to the conclusion that Danzig would benefit greatly if the existing currency could be replaced by a sound and stable money, and it has made recommendations to the Free City which should contribute to this result.

Another action has been undertaken by the Financial Committee in connection with the loan raised by the Czechoslovak Government. At the request of that Government and with the approval of the Council, the Committee has undertaken, if required, to act as arbitrator in the event of certain questions arising in regard to the loan which that Government has recently contracted abroad.

Perhaps the most important of the problems with which the Committee has been occupied is the restoration of the finances of Austria. It will be remembered that at the time of the last Assembly, the plans of the Financial Committee were held in suspense by certain difficulties which it was beyond the power of the League of Nations to remove. Since that time, the Financial Committee has lost no opportunity of showing its sympathy for the condition of Austria and its desire to assist in remedying this situation by any means in its power. Most regretfully the Second Committee has to recognise that a year has passed without any scheme of assistance for Austria being put into operation. The Financial Committee is at present advising the Council upon the grave problem which has recently been submitted to it, and it is devoutly to be hoped that it will assist in promoting a complete and enduring solution of the difficulties of this unhappy country.

The Second Committee sees in these varied activities of the Financial Committee evidence of the extent to which the finances of different countries may derive benefit from the existence of an impartial international body of experts. It trusts that the Committee will hold itself ready in the future to continue to collaborate with the Government of any State Member of the League of Nations for any of the different questions which may be submitted to it.

There are also certain questions involving the relations between several Governments, with which the Financial Committee has occupied itself. They include such matters as Double Taxation, the Flight of Capital, Evasion of Taxation, Lost, Stolen or Destroyed Securities. In the matter of Double Taxation and the questions related to it, solutions have not yet been recommended, but the Financial Committee has recently taken action with a view to promoting a more rapid and practical handling of the question. The Second Committee considers that there may be other financial questions of international importance for which solutions might possibly be found through the intermediary of the Financial Committee, and it recommends that the Committee should take into serious consideration any practical proposals for action in such matters. Moreover, the Committee considers that there is a special group of questions—namely, those connected with the problem of stabilising the currencies of the world—which it will be useful even at the present time to examine with some care. Although it may prove that the final solution of these questions must depend upon the solution of even greater financial problems, such as those of inter-governmental indebtedness, the Second Committee considers that their study might usefully be undertaken without delay. It trusts that the Financial Committee will be able in this manner to produce reports which will throw light on the various aspects of the currency problems with which the world is confronted, and it considers that the Committee should accumulate such information as will contribute to this end.

On several occasions—for instance by M. Löfgren, Delegate of Sweden, the attention of the Second Committee has been called to the resolution which the Third Committee unanimously adopted on 21st September, with a view to a general solution of the reparations problem and the problem of inter-Allied indebtedness. Even before this, the Financial Committee had laid special emphasis on the gravity and urgency of these questions, and it was solely out of consideration for the important deliberations and resolution of the Third Committee that the Second Committee confined itself to declaring its lively satisfaction with this resolution, which may be expected to have the most beneficial consequences, and expressed the conviction that the Economic and Financial Organisation will be ready always to lend its assistance in the event of the League of Nations being called upon to collaborate in the solution of the great problems referred to in the resolution,

The recommendations which this report attempts briefly to explain are to be found in Nos. 1, 2 and 3 of the resolutions proposed to the Assembly by the Second Committee.

(B.)—REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

(*Rapporteur* : The Jonkheer van Eysinga.)

The work of the Economic Committee, on which I have to report to you on behalf of the Second Committee, has been devoted in the main to the great object the attainment of which by the League of Nations is contemplated in Article 23 of the Covenant, namely, equitable treatment of commerce. There is no need to remind you that, if the present situation of the economic world still leaves much to be desired, the reason is simply that at present commerce is not yet being universally carried on under conditions which may be regarded as equitable.

As you are aware, the equitable treatment of commerce is impossible without equitable freedom of communications. Your Communications and Transit Organisation has, therefore, already dealt with certain aspects of the problem.

How has the Economic Committee approached the problem on the solution of which largely depends the restoration of economic conditions on the broad lines suggested in the Covenant? We may here record that the eminent men who have been good enough to devote their great learning, their experience and their time to the service of the League of Nations, and to whom our thanks are due, have followed the path which will lead most surely and expeditiously to practical results. The Economic Committee has begun by attacking the problem from the side on which the difficulties, though considerable, appear susceptible of removal in the near future.

The Economic Committee has accordingly considered what measures might be taken by the world against unfair competition, customs formalities which do not satisfy the demands of equity, the faulty regime as regards foreign persons and organisations duly authorised by law to exercise their trade or profession within a country, and the exercise of an unjust discrimination against foreign goods and vessels. To these contributions to the realisation of the aim of Article 23 (e) of the Covenant must be added the question of dumping and differential prices, the facilities under private law which might be introduced into international commerce by the insertion of an arbitration clause in commercial contracts and the international regulation of bills of exchange. Finally, the attention of the Economic Committee has been devoted to the measures to be taken for the standardisation of economic statistical methods.

I should like to dwell for a moment on some of these problems.

With regard to the unfair competition which is mentioned in Resolution 4, paragraph (d), the Economic Committee, with the approval of the Council, has once more given proof of its whole-hearted support of the principle which should govern all the work of the League of Nations—that of the necessity of avoiding overlapping. The measures relating to unfair competition which are proposed by the Committee and embodied in the Report which you have already seen, and merely designed to form a basis for discussion at a Conference on Industrial Property, to be held under the terms of the Washington Convention of 1911, a Conference in which all the Powers members of the Union for the Protection of Industrial Property will take part.

Mention should be made here of the fact that M. Zumeta, Delegate of Venezuela, drew the attention of the Committee to the harm caused to fair and legitimate commerce through the manufacture and sale of products which, though not infringing the regulations governing trade marks and patents, are nevertheless a form of fraud, owing to the various devices intended to disguise their real nature. The Committee considers that the Economic and Financial Committee might examine this form of unfair commerce and also the most suitable methods of suppressing it.

With a view to the suppression of all Customs and similar formalities which are inadequate from the point of view of equity, the Economic Committee has planned a Conference of Technical Advisers in practical questions relating to Customs, a Conference which is provided for in Resolution IV. (c). The Committee has prepared a preliminary draft which shall take the form either of a convention, a declaration or a recommendation. I would recall the fact that the Advisory and Technical Committee on Communications and Transit has dealt with the communication side of this question. The same applies in the highly important question of unjust discrimination, while that concerning foreign undertakings and nationals (*see* Resolution IV. (d)) is still under consideration.

The Council has already adopted the idea of applying to the Governments of the States Members of the League of Nations with a view to the adoption of certain resolutions referring to the arbitration clauses in commercial contracts. In the meantime, the kindred problem of the execution in one country of the judgments and awards of the tribunals pronounced in other countries shall be submitted to judicial investigation.

With regard to international regulations for bills of exchange, preliminary investigations and measures have been provided for, in collaboration with the Netherlands Government, which took the initiative at the Conferences in 1910 and 1912,

In conclusion, the question of the standardisation of economic statistical methods, advocated by the Genoa Conference, is to form the object of an enquiry on the part of the Economic Committee in collaboration with the International Statistical Institute. Here again the policy of the Economic Committee is to avoid all overlapping. The Second Committee has noted with keen satisfaction this prudent line of conduct, and has expressed its conviction that the Economic and Financial Organisation will continue, should occasion arise, to co-operate in all branches of its activity with other organisations already dealing with the subjects in question.

The few observations which I have had the honour to lay before you show that the work of the Economic Committee constitutes a practical starting point, inasmuch as it consists in adopting such measures as may most easily be carried out. The report submitted to the Assembly by the Committee will prove that the latter would be the first to admit that the extensive investigations which it has already begun, and that the measures which it has already adopted or which it is at present proposing, cannot as yet be regarded as a complete realisation of the essential requirements with regard to the equitable treatment of commerce. I am in a position to state that the Assembly will voice the convictions of the Economic Committee if it expresses the hope as set out in Resolution IV. (e) that the investigations which have already been successfully initiated will be extended and pursued uninterruptedly, so that the principle of equitable treatment of commerce may be applied as widely and as speedily as possible.

This ideal will only be realised when international trade is carried on as if frontiers between nations no longer existed. All our efforts must be directed towards this still distant ideal.

M. Löfgren, Delegate of Sweden, reminded the Committee of the Resolution which the General Labour Conference had adopted in 1921 as regards the national and international aspects of the problem of unemployment; this resolution provided in this important matter for co-operation between the International Labour Office and the Economic and Financial Organisation. With a view to facilitating this co-operation, the Second Committee proposes to the Assembly the adoption of Resolution VI.

I desire to add a few words regarding Resolution VIII., dealing with the present provisional form which the Council desires, for the time being, to retain for the Economic and Financial Organisation. This provisional form has, moreover, been successfully tested, and it has the great merits of an elasticity which enables it to meet the very varied demands which have already been made upon it in the past, and which it may again be required to meet in the future, under the able chairmanship of M. Ador. There is nothing to prevent the two Committees from appointing Sub-Committees for specific tasks, and they are also free to combine forces should the need be felt. It may also be pointed out that the Economic and Financial Committee and the Committee for Communications and Transit have already co-operated with successful results. I believe that what I venture to call the "provisional elasticity," which is a feature of the organisation of our institution, specially qualifies it to accomplish with excellent results all the work which it may be called upon to perform, perhaps in the near future.

(C.)—RESOLUTIONS.

The Second Committee has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolutions*:

I.—The Assembly notes with satisfaction the services which the Financial Committee has rendered to the Council in its several tasks, notably in regard to the finances of Danzig, the technical aid to be given to Albania and the restoration of the financial condition of Austria. Assembly Resolution No. 28th Sept 1922).

It highly appreciates the activities of the Committee, and it hopes that the Committee will consider practical proposals on all specific subjects which, in present conditions, might be ripe for solution by collaboration between States, and that the Committee will pursue its enquiries on practical lines, so as to arrive at positive results.

It hopes that the study of the various questions connected with the stabilisation of currencies, and in particular of the foreign trade balance and balance of payment of various States, which is an essential element of the question, will be actively pressed forward so as to lead to the publication of reports which will throw light on this problem, which is one of urgent importance.

II.—The Assembly has again had its attention drawn to the persistent gravity of the financial dislocation and its increasingly serious effects upon the commercial and industrial structure of the whole world. It reiterates its belief that an essential part of the remedy for these evils is the application of the rules of finance laid down at the Brussels Financial Conference and recently endorsed at the Genoa Conference. It invites the Financial Committee to renew the enquiries which it undertook last year on the progress made in the application of these resolutions by various Governments. It also invites the Committee to investigate, with a view to effective results, and in collaboration, formal or informal, with the Governments

concerned, all practical proposals which may be made for the completest possible application of the principle of sound finance which these resolutions embody.

III.—The Assembly, appreciating the advantages which may flow, for the finances of various countries, from the disinterested assistance of an impartial international body of experts, invites the Financial Committee to hold itself at the disposal of the Governments of the States Members of the League, and to render them the assistance in its power for such questions, and in such forms as they may find most appropriate.

IV.—(a) The Assembly notes with satisfaction the thorough enquiry which the Economic Committee has made into the questions concerning the equitable treatment of commerce and the progress achieved in regard to certain aspects of the problem.

(b) It looks forward to a modification of the existing international conventions on unfair competition in consequence of the Committee's proposals and approves the procedure adopted by the Council with a view to securing this end.

(c) It approves the proposal to convene a Conference of experts on customs formalities. It trusts that all possible measures will be taken, not only to promote the success of the Conference, but also to follow up its conclusions in such a way as to secure practical action by the Governments with the least possible delay.

(d) The Assembly notes the further work undertaken in connection with the problem of the equitable treatment of commerce. It counts upon valuable recommendations being submitted at an early date in regard to the treatment of foreign persons and firms.

(e) It hopes, however, that the investigation thus successfully begun will be extended and continued without interruption, in order that the principle of equitable treatment of commerce may be given the earliest and most general application possible.

V.—The Assembly has noted the progress made and the results achieved by the Economic Committee in the other tasks which it has undertaken, partly in consequence of the resolutions of the Genoa Conference (dumping, statistical methods, &c.), and partly in other matters (bills of exchange). It is anxious that the attention of the States Members of the League should be drawn in a special manner to the recommendations in regard to commercial arbitration (*la clause compromissoire*) and the stabilisation of customs tariffs.

VI.—The Assembly, having taken note of the decisions of the General Labour Conference of 1921, calling for an enquiry into the national and international aspects of the unemployment crisis and of the means of combating it, and requesting the International Labour Office to call into co-operation the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations for the solution of the financial and economic questions raised by the enquiry :

Requests the Economic and Financial Organisation to arrange the scope and method of such collaboration at an early date, and to bring to the enquiry carried on by the International Labour Office any information which it has in its possession.

VII.—The Assembly invites the States Members of the League of Nations to assist in the work of the Economic and Financial Committee by furnishing as fully and as speedily as possible the information for which the Committee may ask, notably for their various publications and their investigations in regard to the equitable treatment of commerce.

VIII.—The Assembly notes that the Council proposes to maintain for the present the Economic and Financial Organisation under its existing provisional form, in order to pursue the work which it has already undertaken, subject to such changes in the composition of the two Committees as the Council may decide.

ANNEX VI.—*Report by the Second Committee on the Organisation for Communications and Transit.* (Rapporteur: Dr. Mineitciro Adatci.)

The Assembly has had before it this year two reports transmitted to it by the Council from the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit, on the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit between the Second and Third Assemblies. The first report contains a general statement of the work of the Committee for Communications and Transit up to its last session. The second report deals with the subjects discussed at the last session, which ended just before the opening of the Assembly.

It would seem unnecessary to give a detailed account of the questions dealt with in these reports since the latter have now been laid before the Members of the Assembly. The Assembly, moreover, will observe that, in spite of the importance of the questions dealt with and the variety of the subjects, the investigation of which, at least, has been undertaken, no proposal nor definite recommendation has been made to the Assembly of the League by the Committee for Communications and Transit. The Assembly has not been requested to take any special action, strictly so called.

This need not cause surprise. The position of the Organisation for Communications and Transit with regard to the Council and the Assembly differs to a certain extent from that at present occupied by the other technical organisations of the League. The Organisation for Communications and Transit assumed, after the Barcelona Conference and in accordance with

the Resolutions of the First Assembly, the final normal form of one of the regular technical organisations of the League. Its Advisory Committee is a Committee the members of which are men of acknowledged competence appointed by the Governments of the various countries, and the majority of whom were elected at the Barcelona Conference by the States Members of the League collectively. A Committee constituted in this manner, and differing markedly from committees consisting of technical experts nominated by the Council, such as the Advisory Economic and Financial Committee or the Advisory Health Committee, has a responsibility of its own and freedom of action within the limits defined with precision in the Resolution of the First Assembly, dated 8th December 1920, on the relations between Technical Organisations, the Council and the Assembly of the League. Subject to the right of control exercised by the Council and the Assembly, it can communicate its recommendations and its opinions direct to Governments. The rôle of the Assembly in connection with such an organisation consists of keeping itself fully informed of the work accomplished and in noting the direction and development of this work in order to point out to the organisation itself, should occasion arise, any omissions or any improvements which may be necessary. It would appear, therefore, that the principal task of the Assembly is to consider whether the Organisation for Communications and Transit, as a regularly constituted and responsible body, has, during the year which has elapsed between the last two sessions of the Assembly, correctly interpreted the duties assigned to it in accordance with the Covenant by the Assembly Resolutions by which it was instituted.

If the Assembly considers this question, it will have no difficulty in finding the reply in the reports which have been submitted to it, and which are sufficiently clear and concise, while giving all the details necessary regarding every aspect of the work which is being carried out.

The first task of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit was to supervise the carrying out of the decisions taken at previous conferences. It would indeed be useless to undertake fresh work if the tests which are the result of former labours had not actually been applied. The Organisation for Communications and Transit has already a tradition and a past. In October 1920, under the auspices of its Provisional Committee, very important recommendations were adopted by a Conference on Passports, Customs Formalities, and Through Tickets. The General Conference held at Barcelona drew up, within a much wider field, a series of conventions and recommendations, embracing all continents which form the charter of the Organisation for Communications and Transit and the first definite results of Article 23(e) of the Covenant.

The Assembly will note with satisfaction in the reports of the Organisation for Communications and Transit that the work of putting the recommendations and decisions of these two conferences into practice is pursuing its normal course and is making steady progress. As a result of the investigation, decided upon last year by the Assembly, it has been recognised and specially noted by the International Economic Conference at Genoa that most of the States were giving effect to the majority of the recommendations of the Conference on Passports, the texts of which have, moreover, been used as the basis of an international convention concluded at Gratz between certain of the Succession States of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. With regard to the Barcelona recommendations and conventions, the Assembly must feel gratified that the Genoa Conference has once more confirmed their importance for the economic reconstruction of Europe. The Assembly will note that, as more than five States have ratified them, the General Convention on Freedom of Transit and the General Convention on the Regime of Navigable Waterways of International Concern and the Additional Protocol to this Convention are shortly to come into force. It will also observe that, although the declarations made by the representatives of all the Governments present at the Genoa Conference justify the hope that the Convention on Freedom of Transit will soon be very widely applied, certain difficulties still exist as regards the extension of the General Convention on the Regime of Navigable Waterways of International Concern. With regard to this subject, however, the Assembly cannot fail to find special grounds for satisfaction in the latest efforts made at its recent session by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit, when it drew the attention of the Governments concerned, and specially those Governments taking part in the drafting of the Navigation Act for a waterway of international concern, to the advisability of ascertaining whether the ratifications or adhesions are not being impeded merely by misunderstandings, and when it requested the Secretary-General of the League to facilitate by all the means in his power the conclusion of any agreements of this nature between States, it being understood that such agreements should in no way derogate from the rights of other States which are Contracting Parties to the Convention, and the principle of which, as it is in entire harmony with that of the League of Nations, will not fail to meet with the special approval of the Assembly. The energies of the Organisation for Communications and Transit have not been entirely absorbed in the work of supervising previous decisions. It was fully aware of the fact that its rôle consisted in undertaking any new investigations likely to give effect to and develop to the greatest extent possible the principle of freedom of communications embodied in the Covenant.

Some of these investigations were, indeed, imposed upon it by previous decisions, either of the Barcelona Conference or the Assembly, which were based on certain provisions of the treaties. This is the case with regard to the investigations dealing with the Convention on the

International Regime of Railways, of which the actual scheme of work is set out in the Committee's second report, and which, in view of its general character and wide range, will probably be an undertaking worthy of the League. The same may be said of the investigations now being carried out by the Committee for Communications and Transit with regard to the recommendations adopted by the Barcelona Conference on the international utilisation of hydro-electric power. Finally, the same also is true of the first efforts (which appear to be specially successful) made by the Committee for Communications and Transit to co-operate with the Economic Committee of the League in applying the principle of equitable treatment for commerce. These efforts have already led to the framing of certain rules which, incorporated in the General Convention on the Regime for Railways, would ensure more equitable commercial treatment for railway transport in all the contracting countries, and drawing up the first outlines of a Convention on the International Regime of Ports, provided for in the Treaty of Peace and once more requested by the Genoa Conference—a convention which it would be desirable to submit at the same time as the draft Convention on the International Regime of Railways to the next General Conference on Communications and Transit, to be held during the year 1923.

On the other hand, it is on its own initiative that the Organisation for Communications and Transit has, within all fields of transport, undertaken investigations, of which many, no doubt, will result in practical progress, and will render valuable services to the economic life of all countries. The tonnage measurement of vessels employed in inland navigation, the tonnage measurement of vessels employed in maritime navigation, the unification of private law in inland navigation, the unification of private law relating to air transport, protection against the dissemination of epidemics by traffic on waterways, control of the opium traffic in free ports—the investigation of all these questions has been begun by the Organisation for Communications and Transit, following methods which are especially deserving of note from the point of view of the prudence and extreme care (which the Assembly will appreciate) displayed in keeping in close touch not only with the Governments but also with all the competent technical organizations, whether they are dependent on the League of Nations or not; the Advisory Committee on Opium; the Advisory Health Committee; the River Commissions of the Elbe, Oder and Danube, and the Central Commission of the Rhine, the Hydraulic Danube Commission; the International Commission for Air Navigation, etc.

Such are, in broad outlines, the results of the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit between the Second and Third Assemblies. Work of this nature must be of long duration, and the year which has just passed has been one of those periods which are always necessary and which are rather periods of preparation and growth than periods fruitful in actual and definite results.

The Organisation for Communications and Transit has decided upon its methods and has prudently and consistently pursued the path which it has marked out for itself. It has obtained the assistance of the technical experts which it required. In accordance with the Resolution adopted by the last Assembly, it has, in particular, appointed two additional experts, nationals, of the riparian States of the Danube. Understanding the need for international co-operation on broad lines, it requested the German Government to appoint an expert on railway matters, and the German Government readily associated itself with a work of international concern of this nature. To what extent the Organisation for Communications and Transit has already deserved, in its short but by no means unimportant career, the confidence of Governments is proved by the Genoa Conference. The latter did not confine itself, in its resolutions relating to transport, to congratulating the League of Nations on the work so successfully carried out at Paris or at Barcelona, or to entrusting the Organisation for Communications and Transit with certain new tasks; it went further and desired that our Organisation should continue its own work and that the task of carrying out the whole of its resolutions should be entrusted to it.

The Assembly will undoubtedly note with satisfaction that the Council, in this matter, has complied with the recommendations of the Genoa Conference, and it will also appreciate the care with which, at its last session, the Committee for Communications and Transit made a detailed analysis of the resolutions of the Genoa Conference—so important for the economic reconstruction of Europe—and of the measures which the Organisation for Communications and Transit has decided to take to ensure the effective development of this work. There would seem to be no doubt that, as regards the application of the resolutions of the Genoa Conference transmitted by the Council the Committee for Communications and Transit will be called upon to deal with a large number of practical questions with regard to transport in Europe and thereby to render fresh services. In order to discharge these duties, the Committee will be obliged, as it anticipated, to develop its organisation in an equitable manner. The competent Committee of the Assembly has already been able to appreciate to what extent this development affects the question of the budgetary resources placed at its disposal.

The Committee submits to the Assembly for approval three resolutions which it has unanimously adopted; the first summarising the general ideas stated above, and the other two referring to more specific points. The Committee considered in particular, the conditions under which two conferences concerning questions of communications and transit would be held; the provision has already been made for the convening of these two conferences.

One of these conferences is the second General Conference mentioned above and organised by the League of Nations itself. The attention of the Committee has been drawn to the great importance for the success of such a conference of submitting the documents which will serve as a basis for discussion to the Governments sufficiently early to enable them to study these documents at leisure. It has been thought advisable to fix a time limit in a definite resolution.

The second is the Conference of Railway Administrations convened and organised by the French railway administrations in accordance with the decisions of the Genoa Conference, the application of which the Communications and Transit Organisation of the League has been instructed to supervise. In the opinion of the Committee, it would be particularly useful to ensure an effective liaison between our organisation and the Conference, and to secure for this purpose the representation at the Conference of the Organisation for Communications and Transit, in order to allow that Organisation to fulfil its duties, and in order to place at the disposal of the Conference all the information which the Communications and Transit Organisation of the League made use of in the preparation of the General Convention on the International Regime of Railways.

I have, moreover, great pleasure in informing the Assembly that, since the draft resolution to this effect was adopted by the Committee, the French Delegation has announced that, according to the latest information, the French railway administrations have forestalled the wish of the Assembly, and propose to invite the Communications and Transit Organisation of the League to the Conference which they have organised.

Resolution I.

The Assembly, after taking cognisance of the first and second reports (A. 132, 1922 VIII. and A. 41) of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit on the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit between the second and third Assemblies, Assembly Reso No. 24 (28th 1922).

Notes with satisfaction :—

- (a) the progress achieved in giving practical effect to the recommendations adopted by the Conference on Passports, Customs Formalities and Through Tickets, held in Paris, in October 1920, and also to the conventions and recommendations adopted at the Barcelona Conference ;
- (b) the efforts made by the Organisation for Communications and Transit to facilitate the ratifications of the Barcelona Conventions or the adhesions to those conventions ;
- (c) the investigations undertaken for the purpose of drawing up the Convention on the International Regime of Railways, as well as a General Convention on the International Regime of Ports and for the purpose of applying in the domain of transit the principle of equitable treatment for commerce ;
- (d) the measures taken with a view to carrying out the resolutions of the Genoa Conference, transmitted to the Organisation for Communications and Transit by the Council of the League with the object of developing the restoration of the actual means of transit in Europe, and

Invites the Organisation for Communications and Transit, which will hold a second General Conference at Geneva during the year 1923, in accordance with the recommendation of the General Conference of Barcelona, approved by the Council of the League at its meeting of 18th June 1921, to continue, on the lines at present adopted, to carry out the duties with which it has been entrusted.

The Assembly believes that the investigations now undertaken will be prosecuted with sufficient energy to ensure that all those investigations which appear likely to give rise to an international agreement may form the subject of definite proposals to be submitted without delay to the second General Conference.

Resolution II.

The Assembly recommends the Organisation for Communications and Transit of the League to transmit to the various Governments concerned, at least three months before the meeting of the Conference which shall be held during 1923, the draft Conventions or recommendations which it has prepared.

Resolution III.

The Assembly takes note with satisfaction of the imminent meeting in Paris of the Conference of Railway Administrations, convened by the French railway administrations, in conformity with the decisions of the Genoa Conference, and draws the attention of the Council to the fact, that it is desirable that measures should be taken for the representation of the Communications and Transit Organisation of the League at the Conference in question, which organisation has been entrusted, in virtue of the decisions of the Genoa Conference referred to above (which have been accepted by the Council and the Assembly), with the task of examining the progress achieved in carrying them out,

ANNEX VII.—*Report by the Second Committee on the work of the Health Organisation of the League.* (Rapporteur: M. Manuel Rivas-Figueroa (Chile,.)

I have the honour to lay before the Assembly the report on the work of the Health Organisation during the past year. I shall endeavour to make it as succinct and clear as possible.

I.

I. The Health Organisation, as constituted by the Resolutions of the Council and the Second Assembly,* comprises a Provisional Health Committee composed of members appointed by the Council, and acting in the capacity of an advisory technical body to the Council and Assembly, in order to enable them to carry out the duties which devolve upon them in health matters and in the struggle against disease, in accordance with the various Peace Treaties and their own resolutions. The Committee's Secretariat is under the Medical Director appointed by the Secretary-General.

The Temporary Epidemic Commission forms part of the Health Organisation, but, at the same time, has its separate duties; for it has the duty of administering, in accordance with the instructions of the Health Committee, the funds provided by the voluntary contributions of the Governments for the struggle against epidemics.

I should like to recall, moreover, that the Second Assembly reserved the right which belongs to the Assembly of controlling the constitution of all the important Permanent Committees of the League and when approving the constitution of the Health Committee, it asked that a report should be submitted on the work of this Committee at its next session.

During last year's discussion, the desire was expressed that the Council should attach to the Committee a woman doctor competent in public health affairs, and also a South American member. The Committee was glad to learn that the Council had followed these recommendations, and appointed Dr. Josephine Baker of New York, and Dr. Chagas of Rio de Janeiro. In addition, the Health Committee was asked by the Council to co-opt a member of German nationality.

II. I will not here undertake on the basis of the numerous documents published by the Organisation a recapitulation in detail of the measures taken by the Health Organisation. I will confine myself to laying before the Assembly the general plan according to which the work of the Organisation has been carried on.

It was the pressing and immediate danger and the gravity of the international health situation which mainly occasioned the immediate formation of the Health Organisation last year. In order to fight this danger the Temporary Epidemic Commission was established as its executive body. The efforts of the Health Organisation were first directed towards improving the epidemic situation. It has become more and more evident that success in the campaign against epidemics was one of the first conditions of the re-establishment of the economic situation in a great part of the world.

Its first task consisted in obtaining all the necessary information which the present state of Eastern Europe allowed, and which would procure for the Health Authorities of all the Governments exact data with the least possible delay. As regards Russia, a Commission of Enquiry was sent immediately after the resolution of the Second Assembly while the Assembly was still sitting—and this Commission drew up a report giving for the first time in recent years a statement on the actual health situation in this great country. Since then numerous bulletins and reports have enabled the Health Administrations to follow from day to day the development of the great epidemics in that part of the world. These reports are based upon information obtained from various sources, and are supplemented by information gathered on the spot by members of the Temporary Epidemic Commission. The Temporary Epidemic Commission is, in fact by reason of its duties in close and daily contact with the various Public Health Services of these countries, and in a position to obtain most important data, and also to prepare the bases of technical co-operation between the States chiefly interested in the fight against epidemics.

The funds placed at the disposal of the Temporary Epidemic Commission by the various Governments which contributed to the work have enabled the Health Organisation to intensify the struggle against epidemics which has been carried on by the Public Health Services of the countries concerned. The best method was for the Temporary Epidemic Commission to put

* "The Health Organisation of the League shall provisionally comprise a Health Committee, which shall be entrusted with the functions detailed in the report of the Provisional Health Committee as adopted by the Council. The Secretariat of this Organisation shall be appointed by Secretary-General of the League and be responsible to him, and shall be placed under a Medical Director.

"The Assembly, in view of the urgency of the present international health situation, and subject to consideration of a report to be submitted at the next session of the Assembly, accepts the constitution of the Provisional Health Committee proposed by the Council. But this decision is without prejudice to the power of the Assembly admitted last year, to regulate the constitution of important standing Committees of the League.

"In view of the increasing importance of questions of health which more especially concern women, the Assembly invites the Council to take into consideration, at an opportune moment, the question of strengthening the Committee by including a medical woman, experienced in public health matters, qualified to advise on such questions.

"The Epidemic Commission of the League of Nations shall form one section of the Health Organisation."

at the disposal of these Health Administrations all the necessary sanitary material which could be procured within the limits of the funds received by it. It is only these administrations which can, as a matter of fact, carry on the fight against the scourge in an efficacious manner. But in order to ensure success in the campaign which each of them is carrying on in its own territory, exact information on the general trend of the epidemics must be furnished. The information collected in each country must be placed unreservedly at the disposal of all the Governments, and, finally, real collaboration must be established between them.

The Health Organisation has endeavoured to facilitate the conclusion of bi-lateral anti-epidemic and sanitary Conventions.

The work and results of the European Health Conference held at Warsaw give the most complete idea of this part of the activities of the League's Health Organisation. The Assembly will remember that the Health Organisation provided the Secretariat of this Conference, and was entrusted, with the Council's approval, with the execution of its decisions. The Conference defined in detail a programme for the fight against epidemics; it fixed the boundaries of a protective sanitary zone wherein their efforts should be concentrated, and drew up a list of the minimum requirements and funds necessary. As a result of the resolutions of the Conference, a whole series of agreements was made between the various Eastern European States. Certain of these agreements appointed the Health Organisation as an organ of mediation in cases of disputes regarding the interpretation of their clauses. The Second Committee wished to emphasise the great importance of this new duty entrusted by the Council to the Health Organisation, and would draw attention to the fact that such a duty could not well be performed by a purely temporary organisation.

The whole work accomplished during the 12 months just elapsed shows the adaptability and elasticity with which the Health Organisation is able to work. Epidemiological information has been obtained and published either by the permanent Secretariat at Geneva or by the staff of the Temporary Epidemic Commission on the spot.

It has distributed the sanitary material and collaborated with the Health Authorities of the various countries through the medium of the Temporary Epidemic Commission. It is at the disposal of the Council and can be placed at the service of any State Member of the League in order to furnish experts and technical staff for an International Health Conference; in this way it would be collaborating in the work of any such Conference.

III. All the activities so far described refer only to Eastern Europe, but the Health Organisation recognises the importance of not limiting its sphere of action to any one part of the world. As regards epidemiological information, it must serve as an intermediary between all the countries of the world. This is a difficult task, which can only be accomplished by stages. All the necessary material must be collected and standardised, and for that purpose the necessary preliminary methodological studies must be carried out. The Health Organisation commenced its work in this domain by sending a Commission of Enquiry to the Near East, in full agreement with, and after preliminary understanding with, the "Paris Office international d'Hygiene publique." The Commission succeeded in defining the sources of epidemiological information in the Eastern Mediterranean countries; it also brought back a draft convention on anti-epidemic and quarantine measures. This draft will serve as a basis for the discussions of an International Health Conference. With a similar object, but with a more limited scope, another Commission is being organised to obtain all the necessary information regarding the ports in the Far East and the spread of epidemic diseases to all parts of the world. Finally, experts have been invited to make a united study of the incidence of sleeping sickness and tuberculosis among the indigenous population of equatorial Africa, and to suggest any inter-governmental steps which might be undertaken for a successful campaign against these plagues.

IV. After very detailed consideration of the methods to be adopted, the Health Committee decided to institute a system of interchange of public health personnel of the different countries. The Assembly resolution, indeed, expressly entrusted it with the task of "establishing closer relations between the health services of the various countries."

In order to make the matter clearer, I will summarise the conditions in which the first attempt is shortly to be carried out at Brussels. Five officials of the Italian Public Health Service, who work in their own country as medical officers of health of provinces, municipal bacteriologist or Public Health Inspectors, are to visit Belgium with 12 or 15 colleagues from Poland, Czechoslovakia etc. For three weeks a series of lectures will be delivered in Brussels to demonstrate the principles of the theory and practice of the administration of the various branches of the Belgian Public Health Service. They will make the necessary visits to institutions, and will exchange information regarding the methods followed in their own countries. Finally—and this is the essential part of the system—they are to be distributed among the various public health services to work for periods with the public health officials of the country. They will share the life of their Belgian colleagues, and will accompany them in their tours of inspection, participating in their office work and their various technical consultations.

It is obvious that experiments will have to be made before a final system is decided upon. The lectures and visits may take place in one country, while arrangements will be made with all the administrations concerned for the medical officers to study in the various countries selected. Exchanges may be carried out among the staffs of the specialised services. For

example, the public health administration of Brazil might send several of its technical experts to the United States, taking advantage of the League's system of health organisation. In the same way, the public health services of Japan and the Dutch Indies might also benefit by the mutual exchange of their technical experts. This system of exchange is to start with European countries, but obviously, to be of real use, it should be universal in character and should be applied to the public health services of all the countries of the world.

V. Among the points upon which it was essential to ensure more complete co-ordination of the individual efforts of the various countries, the health organisation could not neglect the specific prophylactic and therapeutic domain of preventive medicine hygiene. For this reason the Health Committee decided to take the initiative in co-ordinated research, to be undertaken by 10 Bacteriological State Institutes in various parts of the world (United States, Japan, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, Austria, Denmark, Russia) to establish the standard of anti-toxic units on an experimental basis. Modern medicine employs sera in the treatment of diphtheria or meningitis and in the prevention of tetanus. So far no international agreement had been reached concerning the potency of the biological properties of sera. Such an agreement could not be reached by theoretical discussions. Comparisons had to be made of the agents employed in the various countries, and it was necessary to undertake experiments in these various institutes, using the same technique for all and under strictly defined conditions. This is, perhaps, the first experiment of this kind which has ever been organised. The progress realised has made it possible to convene a small Conference of the Institutes taking part in research work on diphtheria and tetanus, in order to establish a standard serum on the basis of the experiments made during the last 10 months. This Conference will take place in Geneva towards the end of the Assembly, and representatives of the State institutions of France, the United States, Germany, Italy, Denmark and perhaps Russia will take part in it. In this sphere also it is desirable that the research work should be undertaken in laboratories throughout the world, and that the programme of future investigations should take into account the necessity for genuinely world-wide collaboration.

Research work in connection with other sera is more difficult, and will probably go on into next year; it is obvious that the success of this work of genuinely international collaboration may lead to very remarkable results.

VI. The Health Organisation has been able to obtain effective co-operation from a non-governmental public institution. This Rockefeller Foundation in New York has created an International Public Health Board which offers financial help to the various health services and to institutions doing social health work. This great American institution has placed at the disposal of the Health Organisation a subsidy of \$32,840 for a period of five years for the work of the epidemiological intelligence services, and a sum of \$60,080 for three years for the purpose of instituting an interchange of public health officials. This offer was gratefully accepted by the Council, and it will enable the organisation to demonstrate the practical utility of its work. It is clear, however, that the normal budget of the Health Organisation, as drawn up by its Committee, should be retained in its entirety. The Council has rightly emphasised the impossibility of obtaining a subsidy from the Rockefeller Foundation without demonstrating to it the great importance which the League of Nations attaches to the carrying out of its programme of work.

VII. In view of the work accomplished by the Health Organisation as set out in this report the Second Committee have adopted the following Resolution which I have the honour to lay before the Assembly on their behalf :—

Resolution I.

1. The Assembly notes with satisfaction :—

(a) The assistance given by the Health Organisation to the work of the Health Conference of Warsaw, and notes also that the Genoa Conference, having considered the Warsaw Conference Report in accordance with the request contained in the resolution of the Council forwarded on the 3rd April, approved the principles of the anti-epidemic campaign adopted by the Warsaw Conference, and that in consequence of this resolution of the Genoa Conference, transmitted to the Health Organisation by resolution of the Council, dated the 21st July, the Health Organisation has been charged with the duty of carrying out the programme outlined by the Conference;

(b) That the Health Organisation has been authorised by various countries to undertake the duties of mediation entrusted to it by certain bi-lateral sanitary conventions which have been concluded as the result of the Warsaw Conference, and that the Council has approved the discharge of these duties;

(c) The co-operation established between the Health Organisation and the other Technical Organisations of the League of Nations, notably the Permanent Advisory Committee on Opium, the Transit Commission and the Mandates Commission;

(d) The assistance given by the Health Organisation in the work preparatory to the revision of the International Sanitary Convention of 1912, and the realisation of co-operation with the "Office international d'Hygiène publique" thus effected, and the fact that the Council

has decided to place this Organisation at the disposal of the Conference which is shortly to be convened by the "Office international d'Hygiène publique";

(e) The co-operation effected by the Health Organisation in experimental research concerning the standardisation of sera and serological tests, the first results of which will be presented to a conference which will be convened at Geneva in the near future;

(f) The development of the activities of the Health Organisation with regard to epidemiological intelligence, which should not be limited to problems of importance to only a limited number of countries;

(g) The initiative taken by the Health Organisation with regard to interchange of the sanitary personnel of various Governments, which system it desires should be made applicable to as large a number of countries as possible.

2. The Assembly desires to express its appreciation to the Rockefeller Foundation for the financial assistance which has been offered to the Health Organisation to assist in the development of certain of its activities.

3. The Assembly considers that the Health Organisation of the League of Nations is undertaking a task of permanent utility and that it is indispensable that it should continue its activities.

The Assembly considers that it may be possible, before the meeting of the Fourth Assembly, to prepare, on the basis and on the principles adopted by the First Assembly for the Technical Organisations of the League, the constitution of a permanent Health Organisation which will be submitted to the Fourth Assembly for approval. In such case this Organisation will undertake the duties laid down in the resolutions of the First and the Second Assembly. It may, if necessary, function meanwhile within the limits of the budget and in anticipation of the above-mentioned approval of the Fourth Assembly. To this end the Assembly authorises the Council to take advantage of such general conference as may be convoked, it being understood that all States Members of the League of Nations shall be invited to send delegates thereto.

It also suggests to the Council that an attempt be made at the forthcoming Conferences to make such arrangements as may be necessary to avoid duplication.

II.

VIII. Your Second Committee examined in greater detail the position of the Temporary Epidemic Commission, which has become one section of the Health Organisation by virtue of the decision of the last Assembly. The report of the Temporary Epidemic Commission has been consequently examined by the Health Committee which, having approved it, submitted it to the Council.

The Second Committee wished to draw particular attention to two points: first, to the means by which the autonomous budget of the Temporary Epidemic Commission has been replenished and may continue to be replenished; secondly, to the reasons which have prompted the Health Committee to propose that a sum of Frs. 125,000 should be added to the budget of the League of Nations for the work of epidemiological intelligence, etc., undertaken by the Temporary Epidemic Commission, as a contribution to its expenses, and also the reasons which have led the Council to approve this proposal.

Regarding the replenishing of the budget in the past, the following contributions have been received so far by the Epidemic Commission:—

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Agu. 20, 1920.	Bulgaria . .	27	0	0	July 21, 1921.	Norway . .	1,919	7	9
Sept. 1, "	Persia . .	2,000	0	0	Aug. 2, "	China . .	2,000	0	0
" 6, "	Siam . .	1,000	0	0	Feb. 17, 1922	Belgium (second contribution),	1,000	0	0
Jan. 6, 1921.	Japan . .	5,316	15	10	April 28, "	France . .	50,000	0	0
" 6, "	Sweden . .	3,000	0	0	August "	Holland . .	10,000	0	0
" 6, "	Switzerland . .	2,150	10	9					
" 14, "	Belgium . .	1,000	0	0		Total . .	187,397	9	4
" 17, "	Great Britain . .	50,000	0	0		Contribution of the League of Red			
" 21, "	Greece . .	10,000	0	0		Cross Societies . .	10,000	0	0
Feb. 9, "	Austria . .	42	17	0		Sundry private subscriptions . .	26	16	0
" 15, "	Finland . .	500	0	0			£197,424	5	4
March 14, "	Peru . .	363	12	9					
" 25, "	Albania . .	981	7	5					
June 4, "	Canada . .	41,095	17	10					
" 11, "	Denmark . .	5,000	0	0					

In accordance with the recommendations of the Warsaw Conference, the expenditure incurred under this head by the Governments of the States bordering on Russia might be regarded as their contribution to this international work.

These sums amounted in 1922 to 412,750*l.* in the case of Poland, 380,000*l.* in the case of Roumania, 70,000*l.* for Latvia and 2,000*l.* for Lithuania, making a total of 864,750*l.* The Second Committee have not had before them figures for Esthonia.

The various documents published make it quite clear that the danger of the epidemics in Eastern Europe continues to be serious. No one can deny the urgent necessity of obtaining funds for the anti-epidemic campaign and for strengthening the health services of the States bordering on Russia.

The Assembly will doubtless remember that all Governments represented at the Genoa Conference unanimously decided to apply to their respective Parliaments for credits. The British Government has obtained a parliamentary grant of 100,000*l.*, on the condition that other States Members of the League should unite in contributing 200,000*l.*

The fact that the epidemic situation has not become still more menacing this year is due indeed to the effort of the countries affected combined with the work of the Temporary Epidemic Commission and with the activities of various relief organisations in Russia, and particularly to the effort of the American Relief Administration, which has earned the gratitude of the whole world.

The First and Second Assemblies have issued appeals for funds for the anti-epidemic campaign. The Council have also untiringly requested Governments for contributions. Your Second Committee does not recommend to the Assembly the issuing of another appeal, but the adoption of the following resolution, which will give to all the Governments an opportunity of stating what are their decisions :—

Resolution II.

The Assembly expresses the opinion that the persistence of epidemics in Eastern Europe still constitutes a serious danger to the world and prejudices the re-establishment of normal economic conditions in the countries affected by these epidemics and in the whole world.

The Assembly notes that all the Governments represented at the International Economic Conference of Genoa accepted the principles of the participation of all European States in the expenditure necessary for the anti-epidemic campaign, and agreed to entrust the direction of this campaign to the Temporary Epidemic Commission.

The Assembly has taken note of the considerable financial effort made by the States *limitrophe* to Russia in order to carry on the campaign in their own territories.

The Assembly notes that, in conformity with the Genoa resolution, the British Government has offered a contribution of 100,000*l.* to the Temporary Epidemic Commission, subject to the condition that the total contributions of other Governments should equal a sum of not less than 200 000*l.*, and that the Council has decided to acquaint the Delegations of all Members of the League of Nations present at the Assembly with this offer, asking them, if possible before the end of the Assembly, to make an announcement regarding the assistance which their respective Governments will be ready to furnish. The Assembly hopes that the Members of the League of Nations will be able to respond at an early date.

III.

The Second Committee has also examined the opportunity of adding to the budget of the Health Organisation the sum of money asked for by the Health Committee and sanctioned by the Council as a contribution to be granted to the Temporary Epidemic Commission for its epidemiological intelligence work, etc.

The Second Committee has discussed this question in detail, and it has decided that in principle, a contribution should be granted to the Temporary Epidemic Commission. As, however, this resolution involves expenditure, it cannot be submitted to the Assembly before an opinion has been expressed by the Fourth Committee, to which the resolution has been referred.

The Second Committee has decided, however, to give the reasons which prompted it to adopt this decision of principle, and it has asked me to lay them before the Assembly.

The following are the facts of the case :—

On 14th January 1922 the Council decided that the Temporary Epidemic Commission should continue to have its own budget. The Health Committee, however, while desiring to act in accordance with the spirit of this decision, was of opinion that it is necessary to draw a distinction between two different aspects of the work of the Commission. The Temporary Epidemic Commission administers the funds which have been collected to prosecute the campaign against epidemics, and for this purpose it must have its own budget and derive the whole of its funds from contributions made by States, but on the other hand, apart from this administrative work and as a preparation for it, the Temporary Epidemic Commission has been forced to collect all relevant information regarding the situation and spread of epidemics. The expenses incurred in this work have hitherto been placed on its own budget, together with the expenses of co-ordinating the anti epidemic work of the administrations of various countries. These services come more properly within the province of the Health Organisation, and in strict equity this expenditure ought, apparently, to be placed on the budget of the latter. The Committee therefore requested that a sum of Frs. 135,000, on behalf of the Temporary Epidemic Commission, should be placed on the budget of the League of Nations under the Provisional Health Organisation.

At the present time the Temporary Epidemic Commission has, in addition to its headquarters office in Geneva, three branch offices at Warsaw, Moscow and Kharkov respectively. The offices at Kharkov and Moscow are in process of development, and the Epidemic Commission has not yet obtained sufficient experience to give an accurate estimate as to the administration expenses that will be incurred thereby. It is clear, however, that the expenses incurred in connection with these offices are unlikely to be less than those of the Warsaw office, which is being administered as economically as possible. In framing estimates of the probable expenditure of the offices of Moscow and Kharkov, the administration expenses of the Warsaw office will be taken as a basis.

The total administration expenses of the Warsaw office amount to 54,000 Swiss francs a year. Similar figures for Warsaw and Kharkov give a figure of 162,000 Swiss francs as the probable administration expenditure of the three offices combined. In addition to the above, salaries of the experts, *i.e.*, of the Chief Commissioner and the three Commissioners in charge of the abovementioned offices amount to 108,000 Swiss francs, and the salary of the Technical Secretary at the headquarters of the Commission to 12,000. If to the above be added a sum of 8,000 francs to meet the cost of travelling expenses incurred by the head office, the total administration expenses are likely to amount to 290,000 Swiss francs.

In view of the fact that an important part of the duties of the Temporary Epidemic Commission consists of the collection of epidemiological information, the carrying out of investigations and securing closer co-operation between the public health administrations of the countries in which the Commission works—all this being work which must be regarded as a legitimate charge to the budget of the Health Section of the League of Nations as a whole—the Health Committee expressed the opinion that a sum of 125,000 Swiss francs would represent a just proportion of the administration expenses of the Epidemic Commission to be borne by the budget of the Health Section. It will be noted that the sum represents considerably less than half the estimated total administration expenditure of the Temporary Epidemic Commission.

The Second Committee did not think it admissible to deduct a sum, however small, from the contributions donated by certain Governments for the precise and clearly defined purpose of anti-epidemic relief.

They have felt that it was quite natural for the Health Organisation to utilise the services of the members of the Temporary Epidemic Commission for the collection of epidemiological intelligence and for establishing contact with the various Governments. It is clear that the expenditure would be much heavier if the Health Organisation had to entrust these functions to a separate staff. The following Resolution was, therefore, adopted and referred to the Fourth Committee :—

Resolution III.

“The Assembly notes that, hitherto, the Temporary Epidemic Commission, of which the funds are provided entirely by voluntary contributions intended for the campaign against epidemics and freely granted by certain States, has undertaken a series of epidemiological enquiries and has established a closer co-operation with the technical administrations, necessary in view of the aim which it pursues, but that its activities have been made use of by the Health Organisation for its own requirements ; and

“Whereas, under these circumstances, it does not seem equitable that the cost of this work, in which all the States are interested, should be borne only by certain States, and that this expenditure should rather be provided for under the ordinary budget of the League ; and

“Whereas it is not admissible that these sums should be paid out of the contributions made by certain States for the clear and well defined purpose of the campaign against epidemics properly so-called ; and

“Whereas the effective continuation of this work and regard for its best results from the economic point of view renders it desirable that the Temporary Epidemic Commission should continue to be entrusted with it :

“Decides that a sum of francs shall be included in the budget of the Health Organisation as a contribution to the Temporary Epidemic Commission.”

I shall have the honour to submit the above Resolution for the formal approval of the Assembly after the Fourth Committee have expressed their opinion on it.

RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.*

1. The Assembly notes with satisfaction :—

(a) the assistance given by the Health Organisation to the work of the Health Conference of Warsaw. It notes also that the Genoa Conference, having considered the Report of the Warsaw Conference in accordance with the request contained in the resolution of the Council forwarded on 3rd April 1922, approved the principles of the anti-epidemic campaign adopted by the Warsaw Conference, and that in consequence of this resolution of the

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Genoa Conference, transmitted to the Health Organisation by resolution of the Council dated 21st July 1922, the Health Organisation has been charged with the duty of carrying out the programme outlined by the Conference ;

(b) that the Health Organisation has been authorised by various countries to undertake the duties of mediation entrusted to it by certain bilateral sanitary conventions which have been concluded as the result of the Warsaw Conference, and that the Council has approved the discharge of these duties ;

(c) the co-operation established between the Health Organisation and the other Technical organisations of the League of Nations, notably the Permanent Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium, the Advisory and Technical Committee on Communications and Transit and the Permanent Mandates Commission ;

(d) the assistance given by the Health Organisation in the work preparatory to the revision of the International Sanitary Convention of 1912, the co-operation with the "Office international d'Hygiène publique" thus effected, and the fact that the Council has decided to place the Health Organisation at the disposal of the Conference which is shortly to be convened by the "Office international d'Hygiène publique ;"

(e) the co-operation effected by the Health Organisation in experimental research concerning the standardisation of sera and serological tests, the first results of which will be presented to a conference which will be convened at Geneva in the near future ;

(f) the development of the activities of the Health Organisation with regard to epidemiological intelligence, which should not be limited to problems which are of importance to only a limited number of countries ;

(g) the initiative taken by the Health Organisation with regard to interchange of the sanitary personnel of various Governments, which it desires should be made applicable to as large a number of countries as possible.

2. The Assembly desires to express its appreciation to the Rockefeller Foundation for the financial assistance which has been offered to the Health Organisation to assist in the development of certain of its activities.

3. The Assembly considers that the Health Organisation of the League of Nations is undertaking a task of permanent utility and that it is indispensable that it should continue its activities.

The Assembly considers that it may be possible, before the meeting of the Fourth Assembly, to prepare, on the basis and on the principles adopted by the First Assembly for the Technical Organisations of the League, the constitution of a permanent Health Organisation, which will be submitted to the Fourth Assembly for approval. This Organisation will undertake the duties laid down in the resolutions of the first and the second Assemblies. It may, if necessary, function meanwhile within the limits of the budget and in anticipation of the above-mentioned approval of the Fourth Assembly. To this end, the Assembly authorises the Council to take advantage of such general conference as may be convoked, it being understood that all States Members of the League of Nations shall be invited to send delegates thereto.

It also suggests to the Council that an attempt be made at the forthcoming conferences to make such arrangements as may be necessary to avoid duplication.

4. The Assembly expresses the opinion that the persistence of epidemics in Eastern Europe still constitutes a serious danger to the world, and prejudices the re-establishment of normal economic conditions in the countries affected by these epidemics and in the whole world.

The Assembly notes that all the Governments represented at the International Economic Conference of Genoa accepted the principles of the participation of all European States in the expenditure necessary for the anti-epidemic campaign and agreed to entrust the direction of this campaign to the Temporary Epidemic Commission.

The Assembly has taken note of considerable financial effort made by the States bordering on Russia in order to carry on the campaign in their own territories.

The Assembly notes that, in conformity with the Genoa Conference, the British Government has offered a contribution of 100,000*l.* to the Temporary Epidemic Commission, subject to the condition that the total contributions of other Governments equal a sum of not less than 200,000*l.* The Assembly notes also that the Council has decided to acquaint the Delegations of all Members of the League of Nations present at the Assembly with this offer, asking them, to make, if possible before the end of the Assembly, an announcement regarding the assistance which their respective Governments will be ready to give. The Assembly hopes that the Members of the League of Nations will be able to respond at an early date.

TEMPORARY EPIDEMIC COMMISSION.

The Assembly, whereas the Temporary Epidemic Commission, of which the funds are provided entirely by voluntary contributions intended for the campaign against epidemics and freely granted by certain States, has undertaken a series of epidemiological enquiries and has

established a closer co-operation with the technical administrations, necessary in view of the aim which it pursues ; and its activities have been made use of by the Health Organisation for its own requirements ;

Whereas, under these circumstances, it does not seem equitable that the cost of this work, in which all the States are interested, should be borne only by certain States, and whereas this expenditure should rather be provided for under the ordinary budget of the League ; and

Whereas it is not admissible that these sums should be paid out of the contributions made by certain States for the clear and well-defined purpose of the campaign against epidemics properly so-called ; and

Whereas, the effective continuation of this work and regard for its best results from the economic point of view renders it desirable that the Temporary Epidemic Commission should continue to be entrusted with it,

Decides that a sum of frs. 50,000 shall be included in the budget of the Health Organisation as a contribution to the Temporary Epidemic Commission.

ANNEX VIII.—*Report by the Third Committee on the Reduction of Armaments.* (Rapporteur : Lord Robert Cecil.)

INTRODUCTION.

The Third Committee of the Assembly has held nine meetings, all of which have been devoted to the discussion of the reduction of armaments. The deliberations of the Committee have been based upon the conclusions presented to it in the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission appointed by the Council at the suggestion of the First Assembly in order to prepare for submission to the Council reports and proposals for the reduction of armaments. In accordance with the resolution adopted by the Assembly last year, the Council, in March 1922, strengthened the Temporary Mixed Commission by appointing seven additional members with special qualifications for its work. Since the last Assembly the Temporary Mixed Commission has held three meetings, and on all the matters with which it has dealt considerable progress has been made. On some of them definite conclusions have been reached and are recommended for adoption by the Assembly. On others, general principles have been laid down and the lines indicated on which the Commission hopes that it may be able, in a not too-distant future to present concrete plans for the consideration of the Council and the Assembly.

The progress in its task has brought the Third Committee to the opinion that it is most desirable that the Council should reappoint the Temporary Mixed Commission for another year. The Committee, moreover, is of opinion that it is imperative that the proposals of the Temporary Mixed Commission should be submitted at a date previous to that of the next Assembly sufficiently early to enable it to discuss with profit so complex and important a problem. In making this proposal, the Third Committee wishes also to suggest that it is desirable that the Commission should be brought into closer touch with the views of the Governments of the Members of the League. It does not suggest that Government representatives should be added to the Commission, but it considers that the Council might usefully invite the Members of the League to ensure the closest co-operation between their military departments and the Temporary Mixed Commission in order that authoritative information, opinions, and even criticism may facilitate its work.

The Third Committee considers that it is particularly important that the Governments should be asked to submit observations which they might desire to urge, and in particular to put forward any suggestions which they may have to offer with regard to the principles of the reduction of land armaments formulated by the Commission, and with regard to the scheme for a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, which is discussed hereafter.

The Third Committee therefore recommends the following resolution for adoption by the Assembly :—

It is desirable that the Temporary Mixed Commission should be asked to continue for another year the work which it has begun, and that its report be submitted at an early date previous to that of the next Assembly. The Assembly further requests the Council to invite the Members of the League to lend their assistance to the Commission in its difficult task, and to give their assistance and advice with regard to proposals for the reduction of land armaments and a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee.

The Third Committee desires to express its sense of the great value of the collaboration that has existed between the Temporary Mixed Commission and the Permanent Advisory Committee, and it trusts that it will continue and, if possible, increase. It is of opinion that the great technical competence of the Permanent Advisory Commission cannot but be of essential service in the questions in which the Temporary Mixed Commission has been engaged.

I.—VARIOUS.

1.—*The Limitation of National Expenditure on Armaments.*

At its second session the Assembly adopted the following resolution :—

“ Subject to the conditions set out in the recommendations of the First Assembly, the recommendation that Members of the League should undertake not to exceed for the next two financial years following the present year, the sum total of expenditure on military, naval and air forces provided for in the budget of that year, be again forwarded to the Members of the League, together with a statement showing the replies already received to this recommendation.”

The Council endorsed this Resolution and the Secretary-General forwarded on 17th January 1922 to the Members of the League a copy of the recommendation and a statement of the replies which had been received. In response to this communication a large number of Governments have sent further answers. In order to make of greater use the valuable information contained in these replies, the Temporary Mixed Commission drew up special tables in which the general conclusions which resulted from them could be more easily reviewed. When it had tabulated the information thus received and had given it due consideration, the Temporary Mixed Commission arrived at the following conclusions :—

- (a) On the whole the estimated defence expenditure for the financial year 1922 (or 1922-23) shows a reduction as compared with the actual expenditure incurred in the two previous financial years.
- (b) In appreciating the significance of this reduction, due consideration must be given, however, to the fact that, since the year 1920, in many of the countries concerned, there has been a falling-off in war charges, owing to the operations connected with demobilisation, and also to the fact that in many countries there has been a considerable decrease in the prices of raw materials.

The Third Committee is in complete agreement with the T. M. C. on this matter and has decided to adopt as its own the above conclusions. It has thought it possible, however, for the Assembly to take a further step in this same direction beyond that which it took in 1921, and accordingly, on the motion of M. de Jouvenel, delegate for France, and without in any way restricting the scope of the previous recommendations on this subject, it proposes to the Assembly the following Resolution :—

Furthermore, the Assembly recommends that as a preliminary step, the European States existing before the war in 1914, under their present description, whose juridical status has not been modified by the war, and which are not, at the moment, engaged in military operations which justify their armaments, be invited to reduce the total of their military, naval and air expenditure to the figures for 1913, calculated on the basis of pre-war prices according to the method employed by the Temporary Mixed Commission.

2.—*Statistical Enquiry.*

The Third Committee feels it its duty to express its gratitude to the Statistical Sub-Committee of the T. M. C. and to the Secretariat of the League for the manner in which they have carried out the statistical enquiries decided upon by the Assembly at its previous sessions. The results achieved in this direction up to the present time are of great value and the task of collecting and co-ordinating statistics has been carried through with great ingenuity and care.

As the original programme of the enquiry was thought to imply a comparison between 1913 and 1921, some of these investigations had to be executed on the hypothetical basis of Europe as it would have been had its present geographical frontiers existed before the war. Such investigations would naturally be of no practical value to the further work of the T. M. C. The Third Committee therefore suggests that the statistical investigations of the T. M. C. be continued on the basis of original figures relating to actual conditions as they exist and leaving for the future the question of the method for their elaboration.

It appears from the Report of the T. M. C. that what it now requires is an instruction from the Assembly as to the lines upon which its further work shall be carried out.

The Third Committee believes that these general lines can be found in the original principles on which the statistical enquiry was based.

What is required is an investigation carried out as a first steps towards the preparation of a general plan for the reduction of armaments. This plan should be based upon Article 8 of the Covenant, which recognises the primary importance of national security in this matter. As may be clearly seen from the statements received from the different countries, the national security of each depends very largely on the full military strength of other countries. The

subject of the statistical enquiry should therefore be this full military strength. It consists of two factors :—

- (1) The actual military strength, which is expressed in the piece-time armaments and the expenditure on national defence ;
- (2) The potential military strength, in which an important element is the industrial and economic power of each State, the military importance of which was proved in the last war.

In this respect, therefore, the additions suggested by the T. M. C. to the programme of the economic part of its inquiry would seem to be entirely justified. It is doubtful, however whether the time has yet come to deal with this latter part of the enquiry, and the Committee, while recognising that it would perhaps be desirable to contemplate a future extension of the statistical investigations in this direction, considers that the statistical enquiry should be limited for the present to the two principal factors by which peace-time military strength is expressed, *i.e.*, armaments and budgets.

The Committee ventures to submit the following proposals for the approval of the Assembly :—

The Committee expresses its satisfaction at the remarkable work accomplished in collecting and drawing up statistical data in an entirely new and peculiarly difficult province.

Taking into account the work accomplished, and reserving the question of the scope it might be necessary to give to a statistical enquiry at a later date, the Committee desires to determine for the coming year the programme which appears to it at the same time immediately useful and practicable. It therefore proposes that this programme should be limited to the two following points :—

- (1) Peace-time armaments ;
- (2) Expenditure on armaments ;

It would be desirable that the Council should request the Permanent Advisory Commission to collaborate with the Temporary Mixed Commission in that part of the work which deals with technical military, naval and air questions.

3.—*Surplus Stocks of Munitions.*

The Council had invited the Permanent Advisory Commission, to examine the question of the destruction of surplus stocks of munitions on account of the technical character of this question.

After a detailed examination of the matter, the Permanent Advisory Commission arrived at the following conclusion :—

“ To sum up, the Committee notes that the question has already been settled by the various countries concerned, and that the surplus stocks which undoubtedly existed at the close of the world-war have, during the three-and-a-half years which have elapsed since that date, been destroyed or liquidated, or are in process of liquidation.”

And the Temporary Mixed Commission, having taken cognisance of the said Report, submitted to the Council the following conclusions, which were approved by it on 20th July 1922 :—

“ The Temporary Mixed Commission took note of the report of the Permanent Advisory Commission and of the satisfactory measures taken by the various States for the liquidation of these stocks. This first question has been settled in accordance with the desire of the Second Assembly.”

Nevertheless, it should be observed that the Permanent Advisory Commission had rightly pointed out that the danger which might arise from the possible existence of stocks of munitions and war material would be really due not so much to the fact that this material existed in the hands of responsible Governments as to its circulation without control in the world at large. Hence the necessity of arriving at some measure of control of the traffic in arms. Owing to these considerations, the Third Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution :—

The Assembly, having considered the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission, is of opinion that there is no step which could usefully be taken in connection with surplus stocks of arms and munitions except by means of the control of the international traffic in arms.

4.—*Private Manufacture.*

The Assembly, at its session in 1921, took into consideration an elaborate report on the subject of private manufacture of armaments prepared by the Temporary Mixed Commission. This report set out the evils alleged to result from the private manufacture of armaments and

made certain suggestions of a general nature as to how these evils might be dealt with. The Temporary Mixed Commission did not at that time put forward any general conclusion as to the desirability or possibility of prohibiting altogether private manufacture. They pointed out, however, the great difficulties of absolute prohibition, and suggested that it might be more practicable to secure a strict control of private manufacture without proceeding to absolute abolition. The Temporary Mixed Commission also proposed that a conference should be called to draw up an international convention on the subject, and that it should itself be charged with the duty of preparing a draft convention for the consideration of this conference. They added that the conference, to be successful, must necessarily include States not Members of the League.

The Temporary Mixed Commission further pointed out that, whatever might be done regarding the prohibition or control of private manufacture, an important step in securing the effective abolition of the evils resulting from private manufacture lay in establishing a strict control over, and securing strict publicity for, the international traffic in arms. They therefore urged that the Arms Traffic Convention of St. Germain should be brought into effect at the earliest possible moment.

Since the last Assembly, however, the St. Germain Convention has not been brought into force. Moreover, the Temporary Mixed Commission found more difficulty in working out a draft Convention than had been anticipated. The Council, therefore, did not summon the international conference which had been suggested.

At its last session, this year, the Temporary Mixed Commission adopted a definite proposal for the control of private companies engaged in the manufacture of arms and suggested that this proposal might serve as the basis for the labours of the conference which had been proposed. The Third Committee shares the view of the Temporary Mixed Commission and suggests that the Temporary Mixed Commission should elaborate the proposal which it has adopted in the form of a draft convention, and that at the appropriate moment the Council should summon an international conference for its consideration. Since, however, it is desirable that this conference should also deal with the subject of the arms traffic, it is evident that it cannot be summoned until a definite programme of action in connection with the arms traffic has been agreed upon. The Assembly, therefore, can do no more than invite the Council to summon the conference at the moment that it shall judge opportune; and the Third Committee accordingly proposes the following Resolution:—

The Assembly, having noted the proposal of the Temporary Mixed Commission for an international agreement for the control of the manufacture of arms by private companies, urges on the Council to consider the advisability of summoning at an appropriate moment a conference of the Members of the League to embody this agreement in the form of a convention. The Assembly is further of the view that States not Members of the League should be invited to participate in this conference and to co-operate in the policy on which it may agree.

5.—Arms Traffic.

1. The international traffic in arms has long been the subject of consideration by Governments. As long ago as 1857, a treaty on the matter was agreed to by a number of Powers. The subject was discussed at the Peace Conference in Paris and a new treaty to replace that of 1857 was drawn up and signed by the Powers who took part in the Conference.

Since then it has been the subject of consideration by the Permanent Advisory Commission and the Temporary Mixed Commission, as well as by the Assembly of the League at both its previous meetings and on a number of occasions by the Council. On all those occasions it has been agreed that it is pre-eminently in the interest of civilisation that the international traffic in arms should be subjected to control by international action.

It is unnecessary to elaborate the reasons for this opinion. Every Member of the Assembly is doubtless aware of the grave and sordid scandals connected with the trade in arms.

2. The Arms Traffic Convention which was signed at St. Germain in September 1919 was intended to fulfil the two following purposes:—

(a) To prevent the importation of arms, except under the strictest possible control, to certain defined areas inhabited by backward peoples. The purpose of this part of the Treaty is evident. The task of preventing bloodshed in great parts of Africa and in the countries which border the Red Sea is rendered far more difficult if the inhabitants have access to unlimited quantities of arms and munitions. It was felt to be especially desirable to bring this part of the Treaty quickly into effect in order to prevent dissemination to these parts of the world of the surplus stocks left over from the war.

(b) To secure by a system of licensing full publicity for all international traffic in arms. The parties to the Convention undertook not to allow the export of arms from their territories except with a licence from the Government authorities, which should indicate the quantities the export of which was allowed, and the destination to which they were sent.

The Treaty further provided that copies of these licences should immediately be forwarded to a central office to be established under the League, and that they should be published. It

was believed that, by securing in this way the fullest publicity for traffic in arms, something at least would be done to get rid of the evils attendant upon it.

The Convention of St. Germain was drafted on the assumption that it would be universally accepted by the Governments of all countries. While, of course, it is essential to secure the co-operation of countries which produce arms and munitions, it is nevertheless desirable that every country, whether it produces arms or not, should be a party to such a Convention.

3 When the St. Germain Convention was signed, the principal parties to it also agreed to a supplementary protocol to the effect that they would bring its provisions into immediate effect without waiting for formal ratification. This protocol, unfortunately, was not acted upon, except by a few of the principal signatories and in respect only of the defined backward areas mentioned above. Since then, great efforts have been made to bring into force the Convention. At both meetings of the Assembly of the League very strong resolutions were agreed to urging the Governments of Members of the League and of States outside the League to ratify the Convention or to adhere to it as the case might be. The Council of the League has addressed a number of letters to the Governments inviting them to act in accordance with these Assembly Resolutions. In reply to these letters, 34 Governments have, up to the present, expressed their views on the subject. Of these, 11 Governments have actually ratified the Convention and four others have expressed their willingness to adhere to it. The remainder, including all the principal signatories, except the United States of America, and also the other States which produce arms and munitions, have expressed their willingness to ratify the Convention when all the other producing States are ready to do so. Germany and Austria, which used to be great producers of arms, are bound under the provisions of the Peace Treaty by the St. Germain Convention.

It therefore appeared that, as the result of three years of continuous effort, the Council and the Assembly of the League might have had reason to hope that the Convention of St. Germain would be generally brought into effect without undue delay. On 28th July 1922, however, the Department of State of the United States Government addressed a communication to the Secretary-General in which it informed him that the United States Government found itself unable to approve the provisions of the Convention or to give any assurance of its ratification. This reply put an end to the hopes that the Convention of St. Germain in its present form would receive general acceptance.

4. As has already been said, it is most desirable that some treaty should be universally accepted for the control of the international trade in arms, and that all civilised countries should co-operate in a common policy of regulation.

Whether that can be done, however, depends on the attitude of the United States of America. It is important, therefore, that the Members of the League should endeavour in every way to meet the views of the United States Government and to secure their co-operation in a common policy. Since, in the letter addressed to the Secretary-General on 28th July, the Department of State says that "The Government of the United States is in cordial sympathy with efforts to restrict traffic in arms and munitions of war . . ." and that "It is desirous to co-operate for the purpose of suitably controlling the traffic," there is good ground for hoping that some arrangement for common action on the part of the Members of the League and of the United States may yet be arrived at.

The Committee therefore proposes that the Assembly should pass the following resolutions :—

- (1) That it is highly desirable that the Government of the United States should express the objections which it has to formulate against the provisions of the Convention of St. Germain, and any proposals which it may care to make as to the way in which these objections can be overcome.
- (2) That the Temporary Mixed Commission should be instructed to prepare a plan for the control of the international trade in arms, which can be considered by the Conference which is to deal with private manufacture of arms.
- (3) That the Assembly requests the Council to take such steps as it thinks advisable to carry out the purposes above indicated.

6.—*Chemical Warfare.*

The Assembly, at its last session, suggested that the Temporary Mixed Commission should make enquiries as to whether any useful purpose could be served by inviting the scientists of the world to publish their discoveries in the realm of chemical warfare. It was believed that this proposal, if carried out, might minimise the danger that chemical discoveries would be utilised for aggressive attack.

The Temporary Mixed Commission, however, after careful enquiry, came to the conclusion that such an invitation as had been suggested could serve no useful purpose. They also agreed that, although conventions forbidding the use of gas in time of war might have great moral value, yet no treaty stipulation could certainly prevent secret preparation for chemical warfare. There is only too much reason to fear, after the experience of the late war, that

any country fighting for its life will avail itself of whatever weapon it may find it possible to use effectively. It is, therefore, necessary, however unfortunate it may be, to anticipate that if another war breaks out chemical weapons will be used.

The Committee is deeply impressed with the terrible nature of the results which would follow from such use. Great development has already occurred since the termination of hostilities in chemical discoveries for use in war. The progress in the manufacture of bombs for use in aircraft has been no less remarkable. The largest bomb used in the war was insignificant in its effect compared with bombs which could and would be used in any war which might now break out.

The Committee considers that it is vital that the peoples of the whole world should understand the issue which they have to face, and with this object the Temporary Mixed Commission agreed to appoint a small committee to study the development of chemical warfare and to prepare a report upon its probable effects in any future war. The Committee is of opinion that the Temporary Mixed Commission were well advised in taking this action, and it considers that the Report of the Committee when it is completed should receive the greatest possible publicity. It therefore recommends the following Resolution:—

The Assembly, having considered the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission on the subject of the development of chemical warfare, approves its action in establishing a special Sub-Committee to report on its probable effects in any future war, and urges upon the Council and the Temporary Mixed Commission that every measure should be taken to secure the fullest publicity for its report.

The Third Committee also took into consideration two proposals put forward for the control of the use of poison gas in time of war. The first proposal, by M. Urrutia, delegate of Colombia, was to the effect that the Temporary Mixed Commission should be asked to consider the advisability of drawing up a treaty for signature by the Members of the League at the Fourth Assembly for the extension to all powers of the treaty concerning the use of gas in warfare agreed upon at the Washington Conference.

The second proposal, by Sir Mark Sheldon, delegate for Australia, was to the effect that the Assembly should adopt a resolution urging the Governments to adhere to the Washington Convention concerning the use of poison gas and submarines in war.

M. Urrutia, being desirous of obtaining a definite decision, agreed to withdraw his own proposal in favour of that of Sir Mark Sheldon, and the Third Committee adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly request the Council to recommend the Members of the League and other nations to give their adhesion to the Treaty of Washington (6th February 1922) in relation to the use of asphyxiating gas and submarines in war, and other similar matters.

7.—Statements of Governments on the Requirements of their National Security.

Article 8 of the Covenant provides that "The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for the reduction [of armaments] for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

In order that they might be able to take into account the geographical situation and any special circumstances which the Members of the League might wish to put forward as important to their national security, the Council, on the proposal of the Temporary Mixed Commission, addressed an enquiry to the Members of the League inviting them to make statements as to the considerations which they wished to urge in this connection. The purpose of this enquiry was to discover, not only the geographical considerations which affect the defence of various countries, but also the political dangers which the Governments have to take into account, the extent to which the forces they maintain are required for internal purposes and to what extent they are required for defence against the danger of aggression from without. It was believed that the statements made by the Governments in reply to the Council's enquiry would provide material with which the Temporary Mixed Commission could prepare plans for the reduction of armaments.

Up to the present time the Temporary Mixed Commission has received and has taken into consideration statements made by the Governments of 26 Members of the League, including all the greater military Powers. The report of the Temporary Mixed Commission shows that these statements will be of great value in its future work. The statements, for the most part, have dealt adequately with all the considerations enumerated in Article 8 of the Covenant. They show that the forces maintained by the various Governments for the purpose of the maintenance of internal order are relatively very small; that in consequence, the military effort made by the various countries is almost exclusively intended as defence against aggression from without; and that the dangers of such aggression result from political situations in which it may be hoped that the action of the League will be of value.

It is evidently desirable that the other Members of the League which have not as yet found it possible to send in statements in reply to the enquiries made by the Council should do so without delay.

The Third Committee accordingly recommends the following Resolution for adoption by the Assembly :—

The Assembly, having considered the answers which have been made by the Governments of 26 Members of the League to the enquiry as to the requirements of national security issued to them by the Council, desires to express its opinion of the high value of those replies as affording a basis for the further deliberations of the Temporary Mixed Commission, and recommends to the Council that it should once again urge the Members of the League which have not yet sent in their replies to do so without delay.

8.—*Exchange of Information.*

The Temporary Mixed Commission, in its report, points out that the statements made by the various Governments in reply to the enquiry of the Council constitute, in fact, an interchange of information not unlike that which the Members of the League undertook to carry out in accordance with the last paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant.

The question was submitted to the Council by the Permanent Advisory Commission two years ago. In the opinion of the Third Committee, it is most desirable that the complete interchange of information contemplated by Article 8 of the Covenant should take place, and it therefore recommends for adoption the following resolution :—

The Assembly approves the recommendation of the Temporary Mixed Commission that the Council should consider whether the time has not come to discuss the application of the paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant relating to the exchange of military information between States Members of the League.

9.—*Washington Conference.*

The Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission rightly points out that, despite the great political difficulties from which the world is at present suffering, the spirit of international co-operation aiming at peace which inspires the League of Nations can also be observed at work in other places. The T.M.C. sees two examples of this spirit in the Conference which took place at Washington during last autumn, and the Pan-American Congress which will take place in Santiago during the coming spring.

At the suggestion of the T.M.C., the Second Assembly had declared that “no complete scheme of reduction of armaments can be carried out without the co-operation of the United States, Germany and Russia. In particular, the naval strength of the first-named Power makes any scheme of naval disarmament impossible without her support, and it is for that reason, among others, that the Committee warmly welcomes the forthcoming Conference at Washington, and trusts that it may be fruitful in securing a large measure of reduction of armaments.”

In its Report to the Council, the T.M.C. expresses “its satisfaction at the work accomplished at Washington in connection with the reduction of naval armaments.” The Third Committee is sure that the Assembly will heartily endorse the satisfaction of the Temporary Mixed Commission at the success achieved in Washington in a problem in which it takes so deep an interest.

10.—*Pan-American Conference at Santiago.*

The fact that the question of the reduction of armaments was to be submitted to the coming Pan-American Conference at Santiago was communicated to the T.M.C. by its Chilean Member, M. Rivas-Vicuña.

In its general report, the Commission naturally expressed its interest in this question, on which it adopted the following Resolution :—

“The Temporary Mixed Commission notes the declarations made at its fourth Session by M. Rivas-Vicuña, on behalf of the Chilean Government, and welcomes with interest the Chilean Government’s intention of submitting the question of disarmament to the Pan-American Congress which is to meet at Santiago in March 1923.

“The Commission expresses the hope that the Congress may arrive at practical solutions capable of being fitted into the more general scheme of disarmament which is the subject of the Commission’s own labours.”

This subject was raised during the debates of the Third Committee in connection with the proposed extension of the principles of the Washington Treaty to the non-signatory Powers, and M. Rivas-Vicuña expressed the opinion that “the co-operation of the technical organisations of the League of Nations and of those which contributed to the Washington Conference would be of inestimable value for the work of the Santiago Conference.”

The Third Committee decided to adopt as its own the above resolution taken on the matter by the Temporary Mixed Commission.

II.—REDUCTION OF NAVAL ARMAMENTS.

The Third Committee has considered the recommendations made by the Temporary Mixed Commission for the extension to other Powers of the principles of the Washington Treaty for the limitation of naval armaments agreed to by the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan. This part of the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission has given peculiar satisfaction to the members of the Third Committee, because it contains a definite recommendation for practical action, which the Committee trusts may be realised without great delay.

The Temporary Mixed Commission forwarded to the Council and the Assembly a draft treaty on the subject, which had been drawn up by the Naval Sub Commission of the Permanent Advisory Commission. This treaty is modelled very closely on that agreed to by the Washington Conference, and provides for the limitation of the total tonnage in capital ships and aircraft carriers to be maintained by the various Powers, and also for the limitation of the size and armament of capital ships and other craft. As proposed in the report of the Naval Sub-Commission which accompanied the draft treaty, it would provide a "naval holiday" for 10 years. The Temporary Mixed Commission proposes that a conference should be summoned at an early date to draw up a definite treaty, and suggests that this draft might serve as a basis for the deliberations of this Conference. It also proposes that all States, whether Members of the League or not, should be invited to participate in this Conference.

The Third Committee is entirely in agreement with the Temporary Mixed Commission in thinking it desirable that a Conference should be summoned at an early date and that all States, whether Members of the League or not, should be invited to take part. It considers, however, that a certain elasticity with regard to the programme for this Conference should be allowed and that it should be made quite clear that the Conference would not be in any way bound by the draft treaty, but that, on the contrary, it should be free to take into consideration the special circumstances in any country, and, in particular, the special circumstances of new States which as yet have no navies. While agreeing to this view, however, the Third Committee feels strongly the great desirability of securing immediate limitation of the naval forces maintained by all countries, in order that the peoples of the world may be spared the economic burden which would be laid upon them by increases in the total tonnage or in the size of warships maintained by their Governments. The Third Committee therefore recommends for the adoption of the Assembly the following Resolution :—

- (a) That an International Conference should be summoned by the Council as soon as possible, to which all States, whether Members of the League or not, should be invited, with a view to considering the extension of the principles of the Washington Treaty for the limitation of naval armaments to all non-signatory States, it being understood that any special cases, including that of the new States, shall be given due consideration at the Conference ;
- (b) That the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission, together with the Report and the Draft Convention prepared by the Permanent Advisory Commission, as well as the text of the Washington Treaty, should be forwarded immediately to the various Governments for consideration.

III.—REDUCTION OF LAND AND AIR ARMAMENTS.

In its consideration of a plan for the reduction of land armaments, the Temporary Mixed Commission began its deliberations on the basis of resolutions laid before it by Lord Esher. These resolutions, which included a proposal for a definite scale of reduction of peace effectives to be adopted by the various Governments of Europe, was subjected to very careful examination by the Temporary Mixed Commission and by a sub-committee which they appointed, as well as by the Permanent Advisory Commission at the request of the Council. The sub-committee and the Commission itself came to the conclusion, which was also that of the Permanent Advisory Commission, that, in the actual form in which they were put forward, Lord Esher's proposals could not be recommended for adoption. In their study of them, however, the Temporary Mixed Commission arrived at certain general principles with regard to the reduction of land armaments, on the basis of which they believe that a satisfactory plan could be worked out.

The Third Committee has considered the principles laid down by the Temporary Mixed Commission and has given them its general approval, without entering into a detailed examination of how they can be utilised in the framing of a definite treaty of reduction, a point on which there were different opinions within the Commission. It is, however, of opinion that these principles constitute a considerable beginning towards the task of preparing such a treaty, and it considers that the Temporary Mixed Commission should be instructed to press forward without delay its investigations on this subject. It believes that the Temporary Mixed Commission should work out its principles in more detail, should elaborate the method by which they can be applied in the framing of an agreement for reduction, and should then formulate as definitely as possible a scheme founded on these principles. As has been said above, the co-operation of the Ministries of War of the various Members of the League may be of particular importance in this part of the work of the Temporary Mixed Commission, and the Third Committee is confident that the Members of the League will lend their full assistance in this respect.

It recommends for the adoption of the Assembly the following Resolution :—

The Assembly, having examined the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission on the general principles of land and air disarmament, instructs the Commission to continue its investigations on the basis of these principles, with a view to preparing for the consideration of the next Assembly a definite scheme for the general reduction of land armaments.

IV.—TREATY OF MUTUAL GUARANTEE.

The Temporary Mixed Commission, in its Report, set forth the view that, to render possible the reduction of land armaments, certain political conditions must be fulfilled. In the opinion of the Temporary Mixed Commission the first of these conditions is the provision by a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee of that confidence and sense of security without which many Governments will not take the responsibility of reducing their means of defence. This conclusion the Temporary Mixed Commission put forward in four resolutions which it adopted. These resolutions are founded on the principle that the reduction of armaments, to be fully successful, must be general. With this principle the Third Committee is in general agreement, although, as appears from Part V. of this Report, it does not exclude the possibility that, in some parts of the world, the geographical situation of certain groups of Powers might enable them to agree among themselves to a separate regional arrangement for reduction.

From the principle that the reduction of armaments must be general, the Temporary Mixed Commission passed to a second conclusion—that many Governments cannot, in the present condition of the world, take the responsibility of reducing their means of defence unless they receive in exchange some guarantee of security against attack from without. Unless they receive such a guarantee, the Governments will consider it their essential duty to put forth their maximum national effort in preparation for the defence of their territory. The Temporary Mixed Commission urges that, if the Governments are to be induced to make less than their maximum national effort, they must be given some assurance that their people will not thereby incur a greater danger of invasion.

The T. M. C. suggests that such an assurance could be given to the Governments by a Treaty of Mutual Defensive Guarantee. Under such a Treaty every signatory would undertake to assist by economic and military action any other signatory that might be the victim of aggressive attack. The Commission in its report points out that the essential object of such a Treaty of Mutual Defence would be to give every State that reduced its armaments at least as great a security as it could have by its own unaided efforts if its armaments were not reduced. But it also points out that, if it came into being and were generally accepted, such a Treaty of Mutual Defence would in fact almost certainly ensure that an aggressor State could have no chance of victory; that it would not be able to present the League with a *fait accompli* achieved by violence, and that in all probability it would be immediately overwhelmed by the united forces brought against it by the guarantor States.

The Third Committee is in agreement with the views thus put forward by the Temporary Mixed Commission. It further agrees that such a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, to be effective, must be open to every State in the world. It considers that such a Treaty cannot usefully come into being until a considerable number of States have ratified it. It thinks it highly desirable that these ratifying States should include nearly all, if not all, the greater military Powers, and it considers it probable that any attempt to bring such a Treaty into being except on these conditions might result in a re-creation of the pre-war system of group alliances. It also holds the view, however, that the Treaty need not be universally accepted before it can come into effect, and it therefore proposes that the Temporary Mixed Commission should be instructed to study this aspect of the matter and to formulate views as to the conditions upon which such a Treaty can usefully be brought into force.

The purpose of such a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee is, however, merely to render possible the reduction of armaments, and in this connection its efficacy will evidently depend in a great measure on the number of States that participate in the Treaty. It is evident that the greater the number of States that participate the more effective will be the guarantee and the greater the reduction of armaments which will be rendered possible. But on this point again the Committee feels that it is not possible for it to formulate any definite views as to the actual stages by means of which the reduction of armaments can be brought about. It therefore proposes that this intricate matter, together with that of the bringing into force of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, should be referred to the Temporary Mixed Commission for its investigation and report.

The Committee, however, has felt able to accept the broad general principle that the Treaty of Guarantee and the Reduction of Armaments are the two essential parts of one policy, and that as far as is possible they must be brought into effect at the same time. The Reduction of Armaments, in that line of thought, must depend on the Guarantee and the Guarantee must equally depend upon the Reduction of Armaments. On this basis the Temporary Mixed Commission is asked to work out the process and machinery by means of which the two measures can come into force together.

The Third Committee felt that it is of great importance that, in carrying out this further work on these difficult questions, the Temporary Mixed Commission should have the advantage of knowing the views of the Governments of the Members of the League. While proposing

therefore that the Commission should be instructed to draw up its proposal in the concrete form of a draft treaty, the Third Committee also recommends that the Governments should be invited to transmit to the Council their observations on the subject. Here again, as in connection with the elaboration of a scheme for reduction of land armaments, it is evident that the Governments of the Members of the League can render the Council and the Temporary Mixed Commission great service.

In the meantime, however, the Temporary Mixed Commission has already done admirable work in a preliminary investigation of the practical steps by means of which such a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee can be made effective, and in its report it has laid down general principles upon which it believes such a Treaty must be drawn up. In doing this, its purpose has rightly been to show that such a guarantee as is proposed could be made of immediate military assistance to any State that was attacked. To this end it has pointed out that it is essential to find a method of solving the two main problems:—

First, when an outbreak of war has occurred, to determine with the briefest possible delay which State is the aggressor.

Second, to devise the machinery by means of which mutual military aid can be brought without the delay which might prove fatal to the State which is attacked.

With regard to the first of these problems, the Temporary Mixed Commission proposes that the Council of the League should decide, if necessary, by a three-quarters majority, which State is the aggressor, and should be obliged to do so within a period of not more than four days. It suggests that a simple and effective test would be to lay down that that State is the aggressor which has deliberately violated the territory of another, and that for determining this the Council might send an expert commission to the spot to enquire into the facts of the situation. It may be, however, that further investigation will show that a better test of aggression might be devised.

For the second purpose, namely, that of securing that the military aid which is brought shall arrive without the delay which might prove fatal, the Temporary Mixed Commission has made further proposals as to the lines upon which military collaboration between the State which is attacked and the other guarantor States might be carried out. It also suggests that, in addition to the various forms of economic pressure which are provided for in the Covenant and which can be readily applied, certain armed forces, such as aircraft and warships, are rapidly available and are very likely to be effective in the initial stages of a war.

The Third Committee has not thought it possible to examine these proposals in detail, and it cannot therefore form any final judgment upon them. But it thinks it right to make a general expression of its sense of the value of the work which the Temporary Mixed Commission has done and of the suggestions which it has made, and to ask it to continue to work out in more detail for next year's Assembly the principles which it has put forward.

The Third Committee is confident that, if such a plan for a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee as is proposed can be successfully carried through, it will do much to create that sense of security which will enable the reduction of armaments to be carried out. This is the whole purpose of the proposals made by the Temporary Mixed Commission. But the Committee feels it necessary to point out with great emphasis that the acceptance of these principles means the recognition of the fact that, to secure the benefits of a general reduction of armaments, Governments must be prepared in case of necessity to act up to them. This the Third Committee believes the Governments of the Members of the League are ready to do, provided they are certain that in doing so they will secure the great end which they have in view. In this belief the Third Committee proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following Resolutions:—

The Assembly, having considered the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission on the question of a General Treaty of Mutual Guarantee; being of opinion that this Report could in no way affect the complete validity of all the Treaties of Peace or other schemes which are known to exist between States; and that this Report contains valuable suggestions as to the methods by which a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee could be made effective, approves the following Resolutions:—

- (1) No scheme for the reduction of armaments, within the meaning of Article 8 of the Covenant, can be fully successful unless it is general.
- (2) In the present state of the world many Governments would be unable to accept the responsibility for a serious reduction of armaments unless they received in exchange a satisfactory guarantee of the safety of their countries.
- (3) Such a guarantee can be found in a defensive agreement which should be open to all countries, binding them to provide immediate and effective assistance in accordance with a pre-arranged plan in the event of one of them being attacked, provided that the obligation to render assistance to a country attacked shall be limited in principle to those countries situated in the same part of the globe. In cases, however, where, for historical, geographical, or other reasons, a country is in special danger of attack, detailed arrangements should be made for its defence in accordance with the above-mentioned plan.

(4) As a general reduction of armaments is the object of the preceding resolutions, and the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee the means of achieving that object, previous consent to this reduction is therefore the first condition for the Treaty.

This reduction should be carried out either by means of a general Treaty, which is the most desirable plan, or by means of partial treaties designed to be extended and open to all countries.

In the former case, the Treaty will carry with it a general reduction of armaments. In the latter case, the reduction should be proportionate to the guarantees afforded by the Treaty.

The Council of the League, after having taken the advice of the Temporary Mixed Commission, which will examine how each of these two systems could be carried out, will further formulate the plan on which the Governments will be invited to express their views and to give an independent decision for the machinery, at the same time political and military, necessary to bring them clearly into effect.

The Assembly requests the Council to submit to the various Governments the above proposals for their observation, and requests the Temporary Mixed Commission to continue its investigations, and, in order to give precision to the above resolutions, to prepare a draft Treaty embodying the principles contained in them.

V.—REGIONAL AGREEMENTS FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

In the previous sections of this Report, the Third Committee has considered the problem of the reduction of armaments as being a matter which must be carried out by general conventions entered into by all the States which are Members of the League, and dealing with, in the first place, naval armaments, and, in the second place, land and aerial armaments.

The Committee is nevertheless of the view that, in certain parts of the world, the geographical and political conditions are such that the States which are situated there may be able with advantage and without sacrifice of security to go further in the direction of reduction, either on sea or on land, than can be achieved by other States less fortunately situated. For this reason it considers that the Temporary Mixed Commission should be instructed to investigate the possibilities of progress in this direction, and it therefore recommends to the Assembly the adoption of the following Resolution :—

The Assembly of the League of Nations,

Whilst declaring that the reduction of armaments contemplated by Article 8 of the Covenant cannot achieve its full effect for world-peace unless it be general,

Desires to emphasise the importance of regional agreements for the purpose of reducing armaments—agreements which, if necessary, might even go beyond the measures decided upon in respect of general reduction ;

And requests the Council to ask the Temporary Mixed Commission to take into consideration, during its subsequent work, the possibility of recommending the conclusion of similar agreements to States which might be concerned.

VI.—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

The Temporary Mixed Commission has in its Report explained at length the difficulties which it has encountered in working out a practical scheme for the reduction of armaments, and it has indicated the lines on which it hopes a solution of them may be found.

But the Third Committee is of opinion that, in spite of the great economic pressure which every Government feels and which operates in favour of reduction of armaments, the political and economic condition of Europe is so precarious that no general scheme for reduction of the means of defence would at the present time be accepted. It is not only that the Governments of many countries are pre-occupied by the imminence of great catastrophes with incalculable consequences. Apart from these menacing dangers, the general economic situation is such that the world is kept in a condition of suspicion and unrest incompatible with real peace. Without peace, without moral disarmament, plans for the reduction of material armaments are vain.

Anyone who seeks to reduce armaments, therefore, must proceed to the further question : What are the causes that are paralysing the machinery of international commerce and exchange and producing economic and political unrest? The answer is well known. Beyond a doubt, the cause that is of overwhelming importance is the intergovernmental indebtedness which is embarrassing the Governments of all the greater States of Europe.

These intergovernmental debts, whether they take the form of reparation obligations, of relief credits or of the debts contracted between the Allies in the Great War, constitute an obstacle which must be removed before the economic life of Europe can be re-established. Until measures have been taken to this end, there can be no hope that the fall of the

exchanges can be checked and international commerce can again flourish. The Financial Committee of the League has expressed itself as follows: "It is our firm conviction that it is hopeless to expect the economic welfare of the world to be restored until the problem of intergovernmental indebtedness has been solved in a sober and practical manner." And the Third Committee believes it may be taken as generally accepted that the machinery of exchange of products, by means of which European nations have always lived, cannot be reinstated until this problem has been satisfactorily settled.

The Third Committee is of opinion that action on this matter should be taken as soon as possible. It may be that a full solution cannot be hoped for without the assistance of the United States. But that is no reason for doing nothing until that assistance is forthcoming. With the collaboration of European Governments and those outside Europe which are, as we are happy to know, ready to help, much may be done; and if so, it should be done without delay. For all competent observers agree that the time within which Europe can find financial salvation and thus avert the disasters that are impending is now short.

The Committee does not feel it within its province to propose more precisely the measures that are required nor the part which the League of Nations might usefully be called upon to take in finding a solution. They feel it their duty to urge the pressing necessity for action and to repeat once more that, until the financial difficulties of Europe are settled, there can be no return of political confidence and stability; and without these conditions there can be none of that moral disarmament upon which any scheme for the reduction of material armaments must depend for its success. It therefore proposes the following resolution:

The Assembly,

Considering that moral disarmament is an essential preliminary condition of material disarmament, and that this moral disarmament can only be achieved in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and security;

Declares:

That such confidence cannot be attained so long as the world continues to suffer from disorganisation of the exchanges, economic chaos and unemployment, and that the only method of remedying these evils is to put an end to the uncertainty which prevails regarding the means for the restoration of the devastated regions and the settlement of the inter-Allied debts;

Expresses the hope that, in so far as these questions can be regulated by the unaided efforts of the European nations, the Government signatories of the international treaties and agreements which deal with these questions, and within the framework of which they must be envisaged, will achieve as soon as possible a general settlement of the problem of reparations and inter-Allied debts;

And it further recommends:

That the Council shall devote constant attention to every effort made in this direction by the Governments concerned, it being understood that it can only usefully assist in the solution of these problems if requested to do so by the Governments in question

ANNEX IX — Report on the Audited Accounts of the Third Fiscal period (1921), the Budget for the Fifth Fiscal Period (1923), the Reports of the Commission of Control, and miscellaneous Financial Questions, presented to the Third Assembly by its Fourth Committee. (Rapporteur: His Excellency M. Minéitchiró Adatci.)

As the Fourth Committee had a particularly heavy agenda, it decided to divide its work among three *Rapporteurs*. Two of its members have been requested to submit to the Assembly the conclusions adopted by the Committee with regard to the financial regulations and the financial situation of the League in respect of arrears of contributions, whilst the Budget, the audited accounts and certain other kindred questions are dealt with in the present report.

The Committee fully realised the importance of its task, and has devoted 17 long meetings to the study of the very complex questions on its agenda. In order to terminate its work in time, it has been obliged to hold several night sittings, and in order to expedite its work it appointed two sub-committees, which have also worked very hard. The Committee wishes to take this occasion to express to the Secretariat its thanks for its collaboration.

Having drawn up its final agenda, the Committee proceeded to examine in detail the various questions which it had been asked to consider. These questions may be divided as follows:—

- I.—Audited Accounts, Reports of the Commission of Control, and Budget;
- II.—Miscellaneous Questions.

I.—AUDITED ACCOUNTS, REPORTS OF THE COMMISSION OF CONTROL, AND BUDGET.

(a) *Audited Accounts for the Third Fiscal Period (1921).*

In accordance with Article 8 of the Assembly's recommendation dated 17th December 1920, the Council, by a Resolution dated 10th January 1922, requested the Netherlands Government to take charge of the auditing of the accounts for the third fiscal period (1921). The Netherlands Government appointed M. Zuyderhoff, Member of its auditing department, to undertake this work, and M. C. V. A. Aarse and M. J. H. Bruyn, respectively Director and Clerk of the auditing department, to assist him. These officials carried out, between 24th March and 1st April, the auditing of the accounts of the International Labour Office, and between 3rd April and 26th April, those of the Secretariat. M. Zuyderhoff approved the accounts of both organisations, subject to three reservations which appeared in his report.

Before entering upon a detailed discussion of the audited accounts, the Committee considered it advisable to ask M. Zuyderhoff to give them some general explanations. After paying a warm tribute to the financial administration of the Secretariat and that of the International Labour Office, M. Zuyderhoff stated that the few clerical errors which he had discovered in the accounts did not in any way prejudice the League of Nations. He pointed out in particular that the excess of receipts over expenditure, which according to the accounts amounted on 31st December 1921 to about 7 million gold francs, only existed on paper, in view of the fact that at that date the unpaid contributions amounted to 7,431,225 gold francs, the cash excess amounting actually to 67,682 gold francs.

M. Zuyderhoff stated that the majority of the proposals which he had submitted had been accepted or were now being carried out.

The general discussion which took place after the statement of the auditor referred chiefly to two items—recoverable expenses and unforeseen expenditure subject to the preliminary approval of the Council. The discussion was resumed at a later meeting (*see* chapter II (d)).

The Commission was of opinion that it was necessary to set out more explicitly the decisions of the Council involving expenditure under the heading "Unforeseen Expenditure of the Council." The Commission recommended that in future a document containing extracts of the Minutes and Resolutions adopted by the Council concerning such unforeseen expenditure should be attached to the audited accounts in the form of an Annex.

The Commission proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following Resolution :—

"The Assembly of the League of Nations finally passes the expenditure and income accounts for the third fiscal period ending 31st December 1921."

(b) *Reports of the Commission of Control.*

The Fourth Committee, at its first meeting, thanked the Commission of Control for all the work which it had accomplished—work which had greatly facilitated the Committee's task. The Chairman and Committee unanimously expressed to the Chairman and Members of the Commission of Control their sincere thanks for the services which the latter had rendered to the League of Nations.

After listening to a statement by M. Noblemaire, Chairman of the Commission of Control, who alluded to the recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry adopted by the Second Assembly and carried out by the various organisations of the League and then outlined the work achieved by the Commission, the Fourth Committee decided to proceed immediately to the examination of the Budget, using the Reports of the Commission of Control as a guide and commentary.

At its 16th meeting the Fourth Committee gave further consideration to the reports. It proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution :—

"The Assembly adopts the First Report of the Commission of Control and the Supplementary Report in so far as its recommendations have not already been acted upon or are not at variance with other specific decisions of the Third Assembly or of its Fourth Committee."

II. 39 of 29th Set
p. 3 First Report.

(c) *Budget : General Observations.*

The full and detailed examination to which each item in the budgets of the various League organisations was subjected gave rise to fruitful and important discussions, in the course of which much information and explanation was furnished. A detailed report of these discussions will be found in the Minutes of the first 15 meetings held by the Committee, and the amendments to the Budget appear in the Schedule attached thereto. The present Report is accordingly restricted to the general comments made by the Fourth Committee when examining the budgets of the principal organisations of the League.

(d) *Budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

In view of the fact that the budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice was for the first time submitted by the Court itself, the Committee wishes particularly to point out that this budget, together with the financial administration of the Court, must remain subject to the full and complete control of the Commission of Control and of the Assembly, in accordance with the financial regulations drawn up by the Commission of Control. The

Committee, whilst recognising the difficulty for the Court to draw up a very detailed budget after hardly two months' activity, makes the following special recommendations :—

- (1) That in future, the details of the Court Budget should be as complete as those of the Budgets of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office. The Budgets of all League Organisations should be drawn up on the same principles.
- (2) That, in general, the Court and also all other Organisations of the League should, in their budgetary statements, use more accurate terminology.

(c) *Budget of the International Labour Organisation.*

The Committee wishes to make the following observations with regard to the International Labour Organisation :—

(1) One of the Members of the Committee remarked that the number of higher officials in the International Labour Office belonging to countries outside Europe, and particularly to the Far East, was not proportionate to the industrial importance of those countries. The same member also drew attention to the fact that the Office did not sufficiently keep in touch with these countries.

(2) It would be desirable that, whenever the International Labour Office has recourse to the Working Capital Fund for recoverable expenditure it should adopt a procedure similar to that of the Secretariat as regards obtaining its Governing Body's previous consent, &c.

(3) The governmental accountability system should be adopted by the Labour Office, and it should draw up its Budget in the same manner as the Secretariat. Broadly speaking, it would be expedient in future budgets to group the departments in a more logical order and to give a brief indication of the duties of each department.

(4) Expenses on account of Commissions and for various enquiries should be reduced to the minimum possible, in accordance with the general principles laid down by the Budget Committee of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at its meeting held in April 1921.

(5) After some discussion, the Fourth Committee decided not to consider the solution of the problem which might arise if the General Labour Conference and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office were to formulate proposals involving expenditure which the Commission of Control and the Assembly were unable to accept.

The Committee is of opinion that the present procedure, under which the expenditure of the International Labour Organisation must be submitted to the Assembly for final approval, has, in the last two years, given the best results, and that there is no occasion to recommend that the Assembly should investigate the question of the competence of either organization as regards finance. No difficulties are likely to arise if the two organisations continue to show good will and mutual confidence as heretofore.

The Committee examined the documents furnished by the International Labour Office, and requested the Director to make a statement upon the work achieved last year, and unanimously agreed as to the striking results obtained.

The work undertaken with a view to securing the ratification of International Labour Conventions, although involving specially great difficulties during the present economic crisis has, nevertheless, been pursued with success. The Organisation has up to the present date recorded 46 ratifications as compared with 30 last year—an increase of 16 for the year 1922.

Legislation for the protection of the working classes, which is based upon the decisions of the Conference, but which does not always appear in ratified conventions bears, witness in a still more striking manner to the achievements of the Office as regards the general improvement in the conditions of labour.

The Office is already rendering the States Members of the Organisation noteworthy and immediate service as an organ of information and documentation, and secures definite economies for all States, provided that they correspond regularly with the International Labour Office, with a view to obtaining all the documentation which they require.

Numerous as the Office's publications are, each one has a clearly defined object, and their scientific value becomes greater day by day.

Finally, and above all, it should be noted that, as a result of the intervention on the part of the Office, as laid down in the Treaty, and the spontaneous requests for intervention made by States Members of the Organisation, the Office plays a part which is, even now, by no means inconsiderable in the work of reconstruction undertaken by the League of Nations.

The final establishment of peace, founded, as the Treaty of Peace says, "upon social justice," may be greatly promoted by the possession of an organisation in which employers and employees, in spite of all social conflicts, may meet for discussion under the same roof, and seek together for equitable solutions of their various problems.

The moral authority and credit of the International Labour Office, so wisely and energetically directed by M. Albert Thomas, will more and more contribute to the success of the work of the League of Nations.

(f) *Budget of the Secretariat and of the Special Organisations of the League.*

Before considering the Budget of the Secretariat and of the special organisations of the League, the Committee listened with much interest to a statement by the Secretary-General, outlining broadly the intricate and difficult problems raised by the preparation of estimates for an institution such as the League of Nations.

The Committee agreed with the Secretary-General's observations that the League's increased expenditure is mainly due to the new tasks continually thrust upon the Secretariat by the various international Conferences and technical organisations created by the League; each time a question is thus referred to the League, additional expenditure must sooner or later be incurred.

The Committee also considered that although it is possible to reduce the expenditure of the various national administrations, which have developed enormously during the war, it would be by no means easy to make a similar reduction as regards the Secretariat, inasmuch as the latter's scope is continually being extended. The Committee also realised that the total expenditure finally depends upon the policy pursued by the directing organisations of the League.

Although, in spite of the very full explanations which have been supplied and of the great importance of all proposals which had been submitted to it, the Committee have nevertheless thought it necessary to make certain reductions here and there in the Budget, it has not done so out of narrow-mindedness, nor out of ill-will towards the League or the Secretariat. On the contrary, the Committee believes that the League of Nations largely owes its continued development, in spite of all the attacks made upon it, to the Secretariat and its distinguished head, Sir Eric Drummond, whose untiring devotion is the subject of universal commendation. The Committee wishes to associate itself fully and entirely with the conclusions adopted by the Second Assembly on the Report of the Commission of Enquiry, and desires to place on record its gratitude to the officials of the Secretariat and its admiration for the work they have accomplished.

The Committee was unanimously of opinion that, in view of the present crisis, all possible economies must without fail be realised. From the outset the Committee thought that a clear distinction should be made between absolutely unavoidable expenditure and expenditure which could be postponed to a later date. If the Committee has never swerved from the path which it marked out for itself, it feels sure that it has never in any manner impaired the general interests of the League of Nations, whose development is the surest guarantee of the world's peace.

The Committee feels it should point out that if, in spite of frequent night sittings, the discussion on the Budget was shorter than could have been expected, this is partly due to the conviction that the financial regulations afforded States Members of the League all the requisite safeguards.

The Committee wishes to thank the Commission of Control for this important work.

The Fourth Committee desires to lay special stress upon the following observations:—

1. The Committee expresses its full and entire agreement as to the moral and financial advantages which would be secured to the League of Nations if all its Commissions were to meet at the headquarters of the League. On M. Adatei's proposal, the Committee adopted the following Resolution:—

"The Fourth Committee invites the Assembly to recommend that, in view of the necessity of realising economies in the financial administration of the League, the Council should always hold its sessions at Geneva, except in the case of absolutely exceptional circumstances necessitating a session in some other town."

2. The Committee recommends that the Secretariat should investigate M. Modzewski's proposal that two new categories of officials in the Secretariat should be established, the salaries for these officials to be slightly lower than those of members of Section Class A and B.

In this connection, the Committee took note of the Secretary-General's statement that the contracts of members of the Secretariat included a clause by which salaries will be automatically reduced in proportion to the decrease of the cost of living. Under these circumstances it might hardly seem necessary to create new categories.

3. The Committee recommended that, except in the case of special requests on the part of the Delegations or Governments concerned, documents should in future only be distributed to them in one language. The adoption of this recommendation will result without doubt in a considerable economy.

4. The Committee recommends that in the 1924 Budget the margin estimated for new requirements as to staff be reduced. A certain number of members thought that, in view of the actual strength of the Secretariat on 31st August, the number of posts provided for in the Budget appeared excessive. The Committee took note of the explanation that, on account of the League's financial difficulties, the Secretary-General, for reasons of economy, had not filled up all the posts provided for in the Budget.

5. In agreement with the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office, the Committee recommends that a committee of experts be appointed to investigate the organisation and administration of the libraries of the two organisations. It thought that this Committee should be instructed to draw up recommendations, bearing in mind both the general requirements of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office and the necessity of securing economies.

6. Upon the proposal of all delegations of the Central and South American countries, the Committee recommends that the Liaison Office with Central and South America should be established in Geneva and not in America. The adoption of a roster would enable the Republics in Central and South America to be represented by officials of each nation in turn.

7. The Committee authorised the Secretary-General to communicate to those countries which have not yet granted free visas and passports required by the League's officials the earnest hope expressed by members of the Committee that these officials will in future receive more favourable treatment.

In view of the foregoing, the Fourth Committee has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following Resolution:—

"The Assembly of the League of Nations, in accordance with Article 4 of the Recommendation adopted by the First Assembly on the administration of the finances of the League of Nations, dated 17th December 1920;

"Approves, for the fiscal period 1923, the general Budget of the League and the Budget for the International Labour Organisation, amounting in all to 24,933,508 francs;

"And decides that these budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*."

II.—MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

(a) *Offer of two Building Sites by the Swiss Confederation and by the Canton and City of Geneva.*

The Committee recommends the Assembly to accept the offer made to it of the following two sites:—

(1) The premises adjacent to the Hotel National, situated on the side nearest to the town, and having an area of 4,493 square metres:

(2) The property situated at 154, Rue de Lausanne, on the shores of the Lake, and having an area of 35,845 square metres.

It proposes that the Assembly should tender to the Federal Council and to the Canton and City of Geneva its warmest thanks for this generous offer, which constitutes a further proof of the goodwill of the Swiss authorities towards the League of Nations.

The property situated at 154, Rue de Lausanne, appears to meet all the requirements of the International Labour Office, whilst the construction of a large Hall (for Assemblies, General Labour Conferences, etc.), with committee rooms, could be undertaken upon the site situated beside the Secretariat.

The Committee is of opinion that the Council might be invited by the Assembly to take all the measures necessary for the transfer of the ownership of these two sites to the League of Nations. This transfer would involve the preliminary concession to the Canton and to the City of Geneva of the right of option possessed by the League of Nations over the property adjacent to the Secretariat.

During the course of the discussion, certain members of the Committee called attention to the economies which would result from housing the two organisations on adjoining grounds.

Finally, the Committee considers that the erection of a Hall on this site should be given very full consideration, both from a financial and from a technical point of view, and that plans and an exact estimate of costs should be submitted to the States Members of the League of Nations, in order to enable the Fourth Assembly to take whatever decision it may deem expedient.

The Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution:—

"The Assembly of the League of Nations,

"Having noted the letter from the Swiss Delegation, dated 14th September 1922, addressed to the Secretariat of the League of Nations on behalf of the Federal Council and on behalf of the Council of State of the Republic and Canton of Geneva and of the Administrative Council of the City of Geneva, which provides that, subject to the ratification by the constitutional powers both Federal and Genevese, and in order to assist the League to acquire in due time premises suitable for the holding of the Assembly and for use as offices by the International Labour Office, by obtaining possession of land in Geneva suitably placed for their requirements, the following sites are offered as a gift:—

"(1) On the part of the Swiss Confederation, the premises situated at 154, Rue de Lausanne, on the shores of the Lake, and having an area of 35,845 square metres;

"(2) On the part of the Republic and Canton of Geneva and the City of Geneva, the land adjacent to the Secretariat on the side nearest to the city, and having an area of 4,493 square metres,

"Expresses its warm appreciation of the generosity and the goodwill shown towards the League of Nations which inspired these offers, and gives full powers to the Council -

"(1) To accept these offers as soon as they have both been definitely made; and

"(2) To authorise the Secretary-General to act on behalf of the League of Nations to carry out the transfer of the property rights."

(b) *Accommodation for the International Labour Office.*

The Committee adopted the Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the financial aspect of new accommodation for the International Labour Office.

The Sub-Committee confirmed the views of the Commission of Enquiry, the Sub-Committee of the Second Assembly, and the Commission of Control, as regards the inadequacy of the premises at present occupied by the International Labour Office.

If the premises situated at 154, Rue de Lausanne, are placed at the disposal of the League of Nations gratis, the cost of the construction of a building suitable for use as the office of the International Labour Office must be defrayed by the League of Nations. The cost of the building is estimated by the International Labour Office architect at about 3,000,000 Swiss francs, an estimate which the Swiss representative on the Fourth Committee considers reasonable.

In view of the present financial position of the various States Members of the League of Nations, the Committee proposes that the funds required for the building of the proposed premises should be raised by including in the Budget of the League of Nations for five years as from 1926 the sum of 600,000 francs. By that date the premises occupied by the Secretariat will have been completely paid for, and no increase will require to be made in the Capital Account of the General Budget of the League of Nations. This figure of 600,000 francs will, moreover, leave a sufficient margin to enable future Assemblies, if they deem it advisable, to build an Assembly Hall upon the site adjoining the Secretariat.

Pending the inclusion of the necessary sums in the Budget of the League, measures may be taken to raise loans by giving as guarantee a mortgage on the land and premises in course of construction.

As regards the construction of the building, the Committee is of opinion that a competition is desirable, but, in view of the necessity of commencing the work as soon as possible, this competition should be restricted to Swiss architects. An international jury, however, should be constituted to judge the plans sent in for competition. The terms of the competition should state all the conditions with which the building will have to comply. It has been clearly understood that the conditions of the competition must indicate that the building required is one of a practical and simple nature, but in a style worthy of the purpose for which it is intended. Plans sent in for competition must contain an estimate of the cost, which, of necessity, should be as low as possible.

Finally, the Committee proposes to the Assembly that it should recommend that each Member of the League of Nations should contribute to the construction of the building by sending, in agreement with the architect, building material, ornaments and *objets d'art* representing the purest specimens of its national products. These gifts must, of course, be suited to the simple character prescribed for the building itself.

The Committee decided to include in the Budget of the International Labour Office for 1923 the sum of 20,000 francs, to cover the interest on the loans which will have to be contracted in 1923, and a sum of 40,000 francs for the costs of the competition.

(c) *Indemnities payable to National Judges and Technical Assessors of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

At the request of the First Committee, which had decided the question of principle, the Fourth Committee was instructed to give its opinion on the financial aspect of the resolution, adopted by the Council at its 19th session, concerning the indemnities payable to National Judges and Technical Assessors of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Committee considered that, as the position of National Judges and of Deputy Judges were similar, there was no reason to alter the rate for indemnities granted to them by the Council. On the other hand, the Committee was of opinion that the indemnities proposed for the Technical Assessors were too high, as their work corresponded to that of the Members of the Advisory Committees of the League of Nations. It was unable, therefore, to approve the Council's proposal, and rejected the compromise, proposed by one of the members, reducing the duty allowance to 50 florins per day. After discussion, it decided to recommend that a single indemnity of 50 florins, known as "Daily Subsistence Allowance," should be paid to them. This recommendation was accepted by the First Committee, which further reduced the allowances of the assessors residing at The Hague to 25 florins per day. These various recommendations were adopted by the Assembly on 23rd September.

At the request of the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice, acting on instructions received from the President of the Court, the Committee took note of a communication from the President of the Court to the Acting President of the Council calling attention to the fact that the Council had contemplated the possibility, in certain special cases, of calling upon the interested parties to defray the cost of the assessors' indemnities, and pointing out that this proposal was perhaps not compatible with the provisions of Article 33 of the Statute of the Court.

(d) *Recoverable Expenditure.*

The Committee is of opinion that in future it would be advisable to charge to the item "Recoverable Expenditure" all expenditure occasioned by enquiries or arbitration proceedings in respect of a single or a limited number of Members of the League, the Council having previously obtained the assurance that this expenditure would be repaid by the interested parties. In this connection, one of the Members of the Fourth Committee drew the Committee's attention to a resolution adopted by the Council at its 19th session, laying down that in future, and on principle, expenditure incurred for special investigations in any one country should be met by the Government of that country. After discussion, the Committee adopted the following resolution:—

"With regard to the decision of the Council, dated 21st July 1922, the Fourth Committee desires to express its full approval of the principle that expenditure incurred for special investigations in the particular interests of one or more Members of the League shall be met by that or those Members of the League."

(e) *Limitation of the Expenditure incurred by the Council.*

The Committee is of the opinion that, in view of the present financial crisis, the expenditure of the League must be restricted within the closest possible limits. The Committee considered it advisable for the Council, when requested to consider proposals involving the League in new expenditure, to be able to plead an Assembly resolution urging the necessity for refraining from incurring additional expenditure except after full consideration.

It therefore adopted the following resolution:—

"The Assembly,

"Considering that the present financial position of all countries renders the strictest economy necessary on the part of the League of Nations, especially in so far as new work involving the League in new expenditure is concerned, even if this work was contemplated by conventions or resolutions antedating the present session of the Assembly:

"Requests the Council of the League and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to see that work of this nature should be undertaken between the Third and Fourth Assemblies only in cases of extreme urgency.

"The Assembly also requests the Council of the League and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to submit to the Fourth Assembly a statement of new work, involving new expenditure on the part of the League, undertaken in accordance with conditions mentioned in the first paragraph."

(f) *Deferred Pay and Pensions.*

At its last meeting, and after discussion, the Fourth Committee adopted the following resolution:—

"The Fourth Committee,

"Whereas it only received the report of the Salaries Adjustment Committee on the subject of a deferred pay and pensions scheme for the Secretariat and International Labour Office at its last meeting, two days before the close of the Assembly,

"Whereas it was impossible in these circumstances to consider this question with the necessary care:

"Recommends the Assembly to transmit the report that was submitted to it to the Commission of Control and requests the Council to submit to the Members a final report four months before the opening of the fourth session of the Assembly."

(g) *Pension for Dr. Pardo's Child.*

The Committee felt much sympathy for the case of Dr. Pardo, an official of the International Labour Office, who died while on a mission to Russia, leaving a young child in difficult circumstances. The Committee duly signified its approval of the decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, recommending that a sum equivalent to one-fourth of Dr. Pardo's salary should be devoted to the maintenance and education of his son.

The Committee decided to include for this purpose a sum of 7,500 francs in the Supplementary Estimates.

The Report of the Fourth Committee would not be complete without an expression of the gratitude felt by all the members of the Committee towards their distinguished Chairman, M. Zable. His task, in the opinion of all, was a heavy and difficult one, and no one could have discharged it with greater devotion or competence.

The resolutions proposed by the Committee were unanimously adopted by the Assembly in the following form:—

I.—The Assembly of the League of Nations finally passes the expenditure and income accounts for the third fiscal period ending 31st December 1921. Resolution No. :
(29th Sept. 1922)

II.—The Assembly adopts the first report of the Supervisory Commission (Commission de Contrôle) and the Supplementary Report (A. 7, 1922, X. and A. 7 (b) 1922 X.) in so far as their recommendations have not already been acted upon or are not at variance with other specific decisions of the Third Assembly or of its Fourth Committee.

III.—The Assembly, whereas the work undertaken by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, in accordance with the decision of the Second Assembly, cannot be satisfactorily carried out without adequate financial provisions in the Budget,

Decides to raise the credit for this purpose under the 'Item of "International Bureaux and Miscellaneous Questions" from 125,000 francs as proposed by the Fourth Committee to 175,000 francs.

IV.—The Assembly of the League of Nations, in accordance with Article 4 of the recommendation adopted by the First Assembly on the administration of the finances of the League of Nations, dated 17th December 1920,

Approves, for the fiscal period 1923, the general Budget of the League, the Budget for the International Labour Organisation, and the supplementary credits, amounting in all to 25,673,508 francs ;

And decides that these budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

V.—The Assembly of the League of Nations,

Having noted the letter from the Swiss Delegation, dated 14th September 1922, addressed to the Secretariat of the League of Nations on behalf of the Federal Council and on behalf of the Council of State of the Republic and Canton of Geneva and of the Administrative Council of the City of Geneva, by which, subject to the ratification by the constitutional powers both Federal and Genevese, and in order to assist the League to build in due time premises suitable for the holding of the Assembly and for use as offices by the International Labour Office, by obtaining possession of land in Geneva, suitably placed for their requirements, the following sites are offered as a gift :

(1) On the part of the Swiss Confederation, the premises situated at 154, Rue de Lausanne, on the shores of the Lake, and having an area of 35,843 square metres ;

(2) On the part of the Republic and Canton of Geneva and the City of Geneva, the land adjacent to the Secretariat on the side nearest to the city, and having an area of 4,493 square metres,

Expresses its warm appreciation of the generosity and the goodwill shown towards the League of Nations which inspired these offers, and gives full powers to the Council ;

(1) To accept these offers as soon as they have both been definitely made ; and

(2) To authorise the Secretary-General to carry out on behalf of the League of Nations the transfer of the property rights.

VI.—The Assembly, with regard to the decision of the Council, dated 21st July 1922, desires to express its full approval of the principle that expenditure incurred for special investigations in the particular interests of one or more Members of the League shall be met by that or those Members of the League.

VII.—The Assembly,

Considering that the present financial position of all countries renders the strictest economy necessary on the part of the League of Nations, especially in so far as new work involving the League in new expenditure is concerned, even if this work was contemplated by conventions or resolutions antedating the present session of the Assembly :

Requests the Council of the League and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to see that work of this nature is undertaken between the Third and Fourth Assemblies only in cases of extreme urgency ;

And requests the Council of the League and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to submit to the Fourth Assembly a statement of new work, involving new expenditure on the part of the League, undertaken in accordance with the conditions mentioned in the first paragraph.

VIII.—The Assembly,

Whereas the Fourth Committee only received the report of the Salaries Adjustment Committee (A. 149, 1922 X.) on the subject of a deferred pay and pensions scheme for the Secretariat and International Labour Office at its last meeting, two days before the close of the Assembly,

Whereas it was impossible in these circumstances to consider this question with the necessary care :

Decides to transmit the report of the Salaries Adjustment Committee to the Supervisory Commission (Commission de Contrôle) and to request the Council to submit to the Members of the League a final report four months before the opening of the fourth session of the Assembly.

Recommendation.—The Assembly recommends that, in view of the necessity of realising economies in the financial administration of the League, the Council should always hold its sessions at Geneva, except in the case of absolutely exceptional circumstances necessitating a session in some other town.

ANNEX X.—*Extract from Report of Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children.*

*Signatures and Ratifications of and Adhesions to the Arrangement of 1904, the Convention of 1910 and the Convention of 1921. The situation to date.**

ARRANGEMENT OF 1904.

<i>Signatories.</i>	<i>Ratifications.</i>	<i>Adhesions—contd.</i>
Belgium	22 June 1905	British Colonies— <i>contd.</i>
Denmark	18 Jan. 1905	Barbados
France	Do.	Canada
Germany	Do.	Central Africa
Great Britain	Do.	Ceylon
Italy	Do.	Cyprus
Netherlands	14 Jan. 1907	Fiji Islands
Norway	18 Jan. 1905	Gambia
Portugal	12 July 1905	Gibraltar
Russia	18 Jan. 1905	Gold Coast
Spain	Do.	Guyana (British)
Sweden	Do.	Hong Kong
Switzerland	Do.	India
		Jamaica
<i>Adhesions.</i>		Kenya
Austria-Hungary	18 Jan. 1905	Leward Isles
Brazil	12 May 1905	Malta
Bulgaria	15 June 1921	New Zealand
Czecho-Slovakia	8 June 1921	Newfoundland
Danzig	2 July 1921	Northern Nigeria
Dutch Indies	14 Jan. 1907	Nyasaland
French Colonies	18 Jan. 1905	Rhodesia (Southern)
German Colonies	14 May 1907	St. Helena
Luxemburg	4 July 1910	Senegambia
Monaco	2 July 1921	Seychelles, Is.
Morocco	1 Jan. 1922	Sierra Leone
Poland	28 Feb. 1922	Somaliland
Siam	28 Dec. 1921	Straits Settlements
Tunis	1 Jan. 1922	Trinidad
Uruguay	30 June 1920	Uganda
British Colonies :—		Wei-hai-Wei
Australia	3 July 1906	Windward Isles
Bhama	Do.	

CONVENTION OF 1910.

<i>Signatories.</i>	<i>Ratifications.</i>	<i>Adhesions—contd.</i>
Austria-Hungary	8 Aug. 1912	Poland
Belgium	30 July 1911	Siam
Brazil	(Has not ratified)	Surinam and Curacao
Denmark	Do.	Tunis
France	8 Aug. 1912	Uruguay
Germany	Do.	British Colonies :—
Great Britain	Do.	Bhama
Italy	(Has not ratified)	Canada
Netherlands	8 Aug. 1912	Ceylon
Portugal	9 Sept. 1913	Cyprus
Russia	8 Aug. 1912	Fiji Islands
Spain	Do.	Gibraltar
Sweden	(Has not ratified)	Hongkong
<i>Adhesions.</i>		India
Bulgaria	15 June 1921	Jamaica
Czecho-Slovakia	8 June 1921	Kenya
Danzig	2 July 1921	Malta
Dutch East Indies	5 Mar. 1922	New Zealand
French Colonies	1 Jan. 1922	Newfoundland
Monaco	2 July 1921	Nyasaland
Morocco	1 Jan. 1922	Southern Rhodesia
Norway	16 Dec. 1921	Straits Settlements
		Trinidad

* During the discussions in Committee V, the Delegates of the following countries stated that their Governments hoped to shortly ratify the Convention of 1921 :—Greece, Cuba, Japan, Italy, Roumania, China, Portugal, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Chile.

CONVENTION OF 1921.

Members of the League :			Members of the League— <i>contd.</i>		
<i>Signatories.</i>		<i>Ratifications.</i>	<i>Signatories.</i>		<i>Ratifications.</i>
		(Deposit.)			(Deposit.)
South Africa	.. . . .	28 June 1922	Netherlands	. . . . .	...
Albania	. . . . .	...	Persia	. . . . .	...
Australia	. . . . .	28 June 1922	Poland and Free City of Danzig	. . . . .	...
Austria	. . . . .	9 Aug. 1922	Portugal	. . . . .	...
Belgium	. . . . .	15 June 1922	Roumania	. . . . .	...
Brazil	. . . . .	...	Siam	. . . . .	13 July 1922
Great Britain	. . . . .	28 June 1922	Switzerland	. . . . .	...
Canada	. . . . .	Do.	Sweden	. . . . .	...
China	. . . . .	...	<i>Non-signatories.</i>		
Chile	. . . . .	...	Argentina.	Luxemburg.	
Colombia	. . . . .	...	Bolivia.	Nicaragua.	
Costa Rica	. . . . .	...	Bulgaria.	Panama.	
Cuba	. . . . .	...	Denmark.	Paraguay.	
Czecho-Slovakia	. . . . .	...	Finland.	Peru.	
Estonia	. . . . .	...	France.	Salvador.	
Greece	. . . . .	...	Guatemala.	Spain.	
Hungary	. . . . .	...	Haiti.	Serb-Croat-Slovene State.	
India	. . . . .	...	Honduras.	Uruguay.	
Italy	. . . . .	...	Liberia.	Venezuela.	
Japan	. . . . .	...	Non-Member of the League.		
Latvia	. . . . .	...	<i>Signatory</i>		
Lithuania	. . . . .	...	Germany.		
New Zealand	. . . . .	28 June 1922			
Norway	. . . . .	16 Aug. 1922			

ANNEX XI.—*Report of the Fifth Commission on the Traffic in Opium and other dangerous Drugs. (Rapporteur : Dr. Nansen.)*

In the report laid before it by its Fifth Commission, the Second Assembly was informed that the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium had drawn up a Questionnaire as to the measures taken to carry out the Opium Convention, and that this Questionnaire had been sent by the Secretariat to the various Governments. Basing itself upon the answers received, the Advisory Committee has, in its report of this year, given a preliminary survey of the execution of the agreements with regard to the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs.

This Report, approved by the Council on 21st July 1922, was laid before the Fifth Commission of this Assembly. In an admirably clear and, at the same time, concentrated form, it contains a multitude of facts, all proving on the one hand the great and general interest of the questions and the importance of international co-operation in this campaign against the abuse of dangerous drugs, and proving also on the other hand the very important progress already reached during the short time which has passed since the supervision of the Opium Convention was undertaken by the League of Nations.

It would not be possible for me to refer to all the questions which the Advisory Committee has had to consider, and I desire to concentrate my observations on the points on which, at the moment, the progress of the work more immediately depends.

Following the general lines laid down in the Opium Convention, the work of the Advisory Committee is being directed towards two objects in particular, *viz.* : (1) the effective control of exports and imports of the drugs, and (2) the limitation of the production of the drugs to the world's legitimate needs. The attainment of the first object is immediately possible if, but only if, all the Governments are prepared to take the necessary administrative measures ; the second object involves the careful collection and examination of statistics of production and consumption, and careful scientific inquiry by the medical authorities, with which some though I am afraid no very considerable progress has already been made.

The Fifth Commission has, during its consideration of the Opium Question, enjoyed the valuable assistance of Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the Chairman of the Advisory Committee. The Commission has been engaged especially with certain matters which may be grouped as follows :—

Ratifications.

The Members of the League will remember that the Second Assembly urged on every country not yet a Party to the Opium Convention of 1912, that it should ratify and put it into force with the least possible delay. Since last year a certain number of countries have taken action in response to this appeal. But there are still Members of the League which are not Parties to the Convention, and among them we find countries which are deeply concerned in this question.

The Advisory Committee mention in its Report especially the importance of Persia and Switzerland becoming full Parties to the Convention. Switzerland has now responded to the pressing appeal made to it, by authorising its representative in the Fifth Commission, Monsieur Ador, to make the following declaration :—

“The Federal Council has instructed all the administrations concerned to forward to it, not later than 31st October, all necessary documents; it will submit the Convention of 1912 to the Federal Assembly for its approval during its session in December 1922.”

Up to the present, however, Persia*, together with Albania, Argentine, Colombia, Costa Rica, Estonia, Luxemburg and Paraguay have not declared themselves ready to adhere without reservation to the Opium Convention. The delegate of Chile made a statement to the Fifth Commission to the effect that the Chilean Minister at The Hague had been given the necessary powers to ratify the Convention. The importance of such adhesion is evident, any country which does not apply the provisions of this Convention being liable to become a centre of illicit traffic.

Of the countries not yet Members of the League or Parties to the Convention, the most important for the present purpose is Turkey. The Advisory Committee therefore has urged upon the Council the desirability of retaining in any new Treaty which may be made with Turkey, the provision of the Treaty of Sevres, which obliged Turkey to ratify the Convention.

Certificates.

A very important step proposed by the Advisory Committee and unanimously approved by the Second Assembly is that of the introduction of the system of Importation Certificates.

The Advisory Committee regrets, however, that up to the present very little progress has been made with the adoption of this system and adds that a certain amount of misapprehension seems to have existed as to the nature of the certificate required to be given by the Government of an importing country.

The system requires an importer of the drugs to obtain from his Government in the case of each consignment imported, a certificate that the import of that consignment is approved by the Government and is required solely for medicinal or scientific (or in the case of raw opium, for legitimate) purposes. Some Governments appear to have understood that this meant they had to guarantee that no illegitimate use would be made of the drugs when imported. An absolute guarantee of this kind cannot be given. All that is required or expected is that the Government should be satisfied that the imports are within the limits of the legitimate requirements of the country and that the persons applying for permission to import are persons engaged in carrying on a legitimate trade in the drugs and are of good repute.

The success of this system depends entirely upon its being generally adopted. It is obvious that if some States adopt the system and others not, foreign buyers will tend to send their orders to the States from which they can obtain the drugs without the necessity of furnishing an “import certificate.” Complaints are already being received by Governments of countries which have introduced the system that the traders in those countries which have not adopted the system are enjoying unfair and preferential advantages.

It would greatly facilitate the application of the system if a fixed date could be arranged on which it should come into effect. The Advisory Committee first suggested 1st September of this year, but this having proved impossible the Commission hopes that the system may be generally introduced not later than 1st January 1923 (Resolution 1).

But even if the system of Importation Certificates is adopted and introduced by all countries Parties to the Opium Convention, difficulties may still arise from the fact that important exporting countries have not yet adhered to the Convention. In order to meet such difficulties, the Fifth Commission inclines to the view that the certificate system should be extended and that the Government of an importing country should not issue an import certificate unless the exporting country has already signed the Convention and put the certificate system into force. Recognising, however, the complicated and technical character of the issues involved, the Committee considers that the matter should be studied in detail by the Advisory Committee before a decision is taken, and that this should be done at the earliest date possible (Resolution 2).

As a matter of fact the Importation Certificate system, notwithstanding that it was unanimously approved by the Second Assembly, has as yet been adopted by not more than one half of the Members of the League.†

* The Delegate of Persia stated that he had telegraphed to his Government asking it to ratify the Hague Convention and to withdraw the reservation made by Persia as to Article 31. The Commission hopes that a favourable reply will be received.

† The following Members of the League have not yet adopted the system :—

Argentina.	Denmark.	Nicaragua.	Serb-Croat-Slovene State.
Australia.	Estonia.	Panama.	Spain.
Bolivia.	Finland.	Paraguay.	Sweden.
Brazil.	Guatemala.	Persia.	Uruguay.
Chile.	Honduras.	Peru.	Venezuela.
Colombia.	Liberia.	Romania.	
Costa Rica.	Lichtenstein.	Salvador.	

In view of the urgency of this matter the Fifth Commission has proposed, as a practical measure, that the delegates now present at the Assembly should at once communicate with their respective Governments and ask for an immediate decision.

During the meeting of the Commission the Delegates of Cuba and Sweden announced that they had received communications from their Governments to the effect that they accepted the Importation Certificates system.

Consumption of the Drugs.

The Commission concurs fully in the steps which the Council has taken for arriving at a determination of the legitimate requirements of the various countries. Two lines of enquiry are being followed. In the first place, the *Health Committee*, in accordance with the decision of the Council approved by the Assembly last year, has been engaged in a scientific enquiry into the amount of morphine, heroin and cocaine used for medical purposes under ordinary conditions in European countries. This has not so far yielded any definite results, but the Commission are of opinion that it is very important the enquiry should be continued and pressed forward as rapidly as possible. They concur in the suggestion mentioned in the Supplementary Report of the Advisory Committee for the appointment of a joint sub-committee of the Opium Committee and the Health Committee for the consideration of the matter. In the second place, the Council, on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee, has invited all the Governments to furnish estimates of their annual requirements of the drugs. These estimates, however rough and approximate, will enable a provisional estimate of the world's legitimate consumption to be formed and the necessity of further measures for the control of production to be considered. The Commission suggests that these estimates should be accompanied by a statement of the system adopted in arriving at the estimate. The Commission hopes that it will be possible for the Governments to supply these estimates in time for their examination and consideration by the Advisory Committee at its meeting next spring and for the preparation of a provisional estimate and scheme for submission to the next meeting of the Assembly.

An approximate knowledge of the legitimate requirements for the drugs will form a basis for the control and limitation, also of the production of the drugs. As long as the dangerous drugs are produced in quantities exceeding the legitimate requirements, a great danger exists that the surplus will find its way into illegitimate channels. A control of production, so as to limit it to the amount required for medical and legitimate purposes, will therefore be the most effective way of putting a stop to the illicit traffic.

Such control of the production of dangerous drugs is embodied already in the Convention of 1912 (Part III., Article 9), and steps are already being taken to give effect to this Article. In view of the urgency of this matter the Fifth Commission thinks it necessary once again to draw the attention of the various Governments to the importance of a full and prompt co-operation with the Advisory Committee in giving all the information required. The Fifth Commission adopted a resolution on the subject (Resolution 3).

While dealing with the consumption of drugs a brief reference may be made to a question raised in the Commission as to the import of opium into Hong Kong. The use of opium for smoking is still permitted in Hong Kong, as in other of the Far Eastern possessions of European Powers, but in accordance with Chapter II. of the Opium Convention it is placed under strict Government regulations, pending complete suppression, and has been greatly restricted. The attention of the Commission was called to the fact that the Government of Hong Kong was proposing to increase its imports of raw opium from 10 to 20 chests a month. The British representative explained that in this case an increased import would not mean any increase available for consumption.

At the end of 1919 the imports had been reduced at one stroke from 45 chests to 10, but this reduction had been found to be too sudden and the consumption had in fact been considerably more than 10 chests, the balance being drawn from reserve stocks, which were now depleted. The additional imports were only required to maintain the existing rate of consumption. The British Government gave an undertaking that, if the Advisory Committee should so recommend it next spring, the supply of opium placed on sale in Hong Kong would be so limited that the average consumption from now until the end of 1923 would not exceed the average consumption of the last few years, on the closest estimate which could be made.

Statistics.

The Commission desires to call attention to the great importance of the fullest possible information being supplied by all the Governments of the amounts of the drugs produced, manufactured, imported, exported, distributed or consumed in their respective countries. The Advisory Committee point out that they have been unable to report fully on the control of the traffic in dangerous drugs, which is a question of so great importance for European as well as for Oriental countries, because the statistics of manufacture, distribution, etc., furnished by the Governments were very incomplete. A special request has been addressed by the Council to the Governments to complete at any rate the statistics on the manufacture of cocaine, etc., with the least possible delay, but so far, the Commission regret to say, this appeal has had the very little result. They also understand that, so far, only four countries have made the Annual Report on the traffic, in respect of the year 1921, *viz.*, Great Britain, Canada, France

and Italy, and not all of these contain statistics of manufacture. It is evident that the work of the Advisory Committee will be greatly hindered if this information is not furnished, and the Commission express the hope that at any rate full statistics will be obtained and furnished by the Governments in respect of the current year before the Advisory Committee meets next spring, both of cocaine and of morphine and their derivatives, and they also hope that it may still be possible for the Governments to take steps to collect the statistics of production or manufacture for 1921 and possibly for preceding years.

Control of the Traffic at Free Ports.

The Fifth Commission has taken note of the Resolution adopted by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit at its Third Session.

"The Committee for Communications and Transit, having been informed by the Opium Committee regarding the question of the control of the opium traffic in free ports, points out in the first place, in order to avoid possible misunderstanding, that the regime of free ports—which is essentially and exclusively a customs regime—would not form an obstacle to the application of special police measures, particularly as regards the supervision of harmful and narcotic substances, provided that such measures do not cause any hindrance to the regime of commercial and industrial freedom which it is the object of the free ports to develop.

"In bringing these observations to the notice of the Opium Committee, the Committee for Communications and Transit informs it that it is considering what police measures might be taken for the above-mentioned purpose.

"Further, with a view to entering upon the study of this question, the Committee for Communications and Transit, acting in co-operation with the Opium Committee, has decided to appoint a special sub-Committee composed of MM. de Agüero y Bethancourt (Chairman), Chargueraud, Holek-Colding, Montarroyos, Stievenard and Tcheou-Wei."

General co-operation.

The programme as well as the progress of the very important work undertaken by the League in regulating the traffic and suppressing the abuse of dangerous drugs, has now been outlined. One point, however, remains to be emphasised. It will be evident to every Member of the Assembly that, if we are to carry through this great programme, we must, in the Advisory Committee, have the co-operation of all countries which are specially concerned in the cultivation, manufacture and distribution of the drugs.

Among the countries which are both Members of the League and parties to the Convention, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, although invited by the Council to send a representative to the Advisory Committee, has not so far accepted the invitation. The delegate for the Serb-Croat-Slovene State on the Fifth Commission has, however, with the authorisation of his Government, declared that it is ready to send a representative to the next session of the Advisory Committee.

Of the utmost importance is also the co-operation of certain countries not yet Members of the League. Germany has given us her help by appointing to the Advisory Committee a member whose services have been invaluable. But the United States of America, which is a party to the Convention and which is one of the largest importing and manufacturing countries in the world, is not yet co-operating.

The Fifth Commission fully endorse the hope expressed by the Advisory Committee that means may be found before long to obtain this co-operation. It feels, indeed, so deeply the urgency of this matter, that it ventures to propose a resolution in which the Council is asked formally to invite the United States Government to appoint a member to the Advisory Committee (Resolution 5).

The *Resolutions* laid before the Assembly by the Fifth Commission, expressing the views here explained, are the following:—

"(1) The Assembly, being convinced that the most practical means of exercising control over the traffic in dangerous drugs is by means of the import and export certificate system, and believing that only international action can make this system a success, urges on all Governments the vital necessity of adopting this import and export certificate system without delay.

"(2) The Commission inclines to the view that the Governments which are Parties to the International Opium Convention should be asked to agree not to issue licences for the import of opium, or the other drugs to which the Convention applies from any country which has not yet ratified and put into force the Convention, and adopted the system for the control of exports and imports approved by the Assembly in para. 1 (3) of the Resolution adopted on 30th September 1921, and previously approved by the Council on 28th June 1921. The Commission considers this question important and urgent, but, recognising the complicated and technical character of issues involved, it is of opinion that the matter should be examined in detail by the Advisory Committee of the League on Traffic in Opium, before any definite action is taken. It therefore recommends that the Assembly should request the Council to convene a meeting of the Opium Advisory Committee, as soon as possible, to study the question, and should that Committee

report in favour of the proposal, that the Council should be asked to act on the recommendations of the Advisory Committee in the form approved by the Council, at the earliest possible date, and without further reference to the Assembly if the Council considers such reference unnecessary.

"(3) The Assembly, being of the opinion that the first steps necessary in limiting the world's supply of dangerous drugs to legitimate uses is a knowledge of the amount of drugs required by each country for internal consumption, urges the Governments to supply the returns asked for with the least possible delay and with the greatest accuracy in their power. The various Governments should, with a view to allowing comparison to be made, state clearly the system adopted in arriving at the estimate, and should supply a secondary statement showing estimated consumption per 100,000 inhabitants.

"(4) The Assembly of the League of Nations again desires to emphasise the view expressed in the Report of the Advisory Committee that as long as the drugs to which Part III., particularly Article IX, of the Opium Convention applies are produced in quantities exceeding the legitimate requirements, there is a great danger that the surplus will find its way into illegitimate channels, and that the control of production, so as to limit it to the amount required for medical and legitimate purposes, is the most effective method of putting a stop to the illicit traffic; it recommends that the enquiry now proceeding into the world's legitimate requirements should be pressed forward as rapidly as possible, and expresses the hope that a provisional estimate and scheme will be submitted to the Assembly next year.

"(5) The Assembly, convinced of the urgent necessity of securing the fullest possible co-operation in the work of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other dangerous Drugs, and considering the fact that the United States of America is one of the most important manufacturing and importing countries, recommends to the Council of the League that it should address a pressing invitation to the Government of the United States to nominate a member to serve on the Committee."

ANNEX XII.—*Draft Convention of 1910 regarding Obscene Publications, referred to in Assembly Resolution 25 of 28th September (see page 36).*

ANNEX I.—FINAL PROTOCOL.

The undersigned, delegates of the Governments of Germany, the United States of America, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Sweden and Switzerland, met at Paris on 18th April 1910, on the invitation of the French Government, with a view to reaching an agreement as to the most effective method of suppressing the circulation of obscene publications.

As a result of the discussions, which are recorded in the minutes of the meetings, they have agreed to submit, for the consideration of their respective Governments, the following draft Convention :—

DRAFT CONVENTION.

being equally desirous of taking the most effective steps possible to suppress the circulation of obscene publications, have resolved to conclude a Convention to that end, and have accordingly appointed as plenipotentiaries

who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions :

Article I.

It shall be a punishable offence :

(1) To manufacture or be in possession of obscene writings, drawings, pictures or articles for the purpose of trading in or distributing the same.

(2) To import or cause to be imported, convey or cause to be conveyed, for the above purpose, any such obscene writings, drawings, pictures or articles, or to put them in circulation in any other manner.

(3) To trade, even privately, therein or to make a trade of lending thereof.

•(4) To advertise such trade by any means whatsoever.

Article II.

Persons who have committed an offence falling under Article I shall be amenable to the Courts of the States in which the offence, or any of the constitutive elements of the offence, was committed. They shall also be amenable to the Courts of the States of which they are nationals, if they are found therein, even if the constitutive elements of the offence were committed outside such State.

Each contracting State shall, however, have the right to apply the maxim *non bis in idem* in accordance with the rules laid down in its legislation.

Article III.

Those of the contracting Parties whose legislation is not at present adequate to give effect to the present Convention, undertake to take or to propose to their respective legislations the measures necessary for this purpose.

Article IV.

The transmission of rogatory commissions relating to offences falling under the present Convention shall be effected either :—

(1) By direct communication between the judicial authorities.

(2) Through the diplomatic or consular agent of the applying country in the country to which application is made, who shall forward the rogatory commission directly to the competent judicial authority, and shall receive direct from such authority the papers showing the execution of the commission.

(In each of the above cases a copy of the rogatory commission shall always be sent to the supreme authority of the State to which application is made.)

(3) Through diplomatic channels.

Each contracting Party shall notify to each of the other contracting Parties the method or methods of transmission mentioned above, which it will recognise for rogatory commissions of such State.

Any difficulties which may arise in connection with transmission by methods (1) and (2) of the present Article shall be settled through diplomatic channels.

Unless otherwise agreed, the rogatory commission shall be drawn up in the language of the authority to which application is made, or in a language agreed upon by the two States concerned, or shall be accompanied by a translation in one of these two languages certified by a diplomatic or consular agent of the applying State or certified on his oath by a translator of the State to which application is made.

Execution of rogatory commissions shall not be subject to payment of taxes or expenses of any nature whatsoever.

Article V.

Non-signatory States may adhere to the present Convention. They shall notify their intention to that effect by means of an instrument which shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic. The said Government shall send through diplomatic channels a certified copy of the said instrument to each of the contracting States, and shall at the same time inform them of the date of deposit.

Six months after the date on which the instrument of notification is deposited, the Convention shall come into force in the whole of the territory of the adhering State, which shall thus become a contracting State.

Adherence to the Convention shall, *ipso facto*, and without special notification, involve concomitant and full adherence to the Arrangement of 4th May 1910, which shall come into force on the same date as the Convention itself in the whole of the territory of the adhering State.

Article IV, of the above-mentioned Arrangement of 4th May 1910 shall not, however, be invalidated by the preceding provision, which should remain applicable should any State prefer to adhere only to that Arrangement.

Article VI.

The present Convention, supplemented by a Protocol of cloture, which forms an integral part of the Convention, shall be ratified, and the ratifications deposited at Paris as soon as six of the contracting States shall be in a position to do so.

A *procès-verbal* of every deposit of ratifications shall be drawn up, and a certified copy thereof shall be delivered through diplomatic channels to each of the contracting States.

The present Convention shall take effect six months after the date of the deposit of ratifications.

Article VII.

In the event of one of the contracting States denouncing the Convention, the denunciation shall only have effect in regard to that State.

The denunciation shall be notified by an instrument which shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic. The said Government shall send, through diplomatic channels, a certified true copy thereof to each of the contracting States, and at the same time inform them of the date of deposit.

Twelve months after that date the Convention shall cease to be in force throughout the territory of the denouncing State.

Denunciation of the Convention shall not, *ipso facto*, involve the concomitant denunciation of the Arrangement of 4th May 1910, unless this is expressly stated in the instrument of notification; if not, the contracting State shall, in order to denounce the said Arrangement, proceed in accordance with Article V. of such agreement.

Article VIII.

Should a contracting State wish to enforce the present Convention in one or more of its colonies, possessions, or consular court districts, it shall notify its intention to that effect by an instrument which shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic. The said Government shall send through diplomatic channels a certified copy of each of the contracting States and at the same time inform it of the date of deposit.

Six months after the date on which the instrument of notification is deposited, the Convention shall come into effect in the colonies, possessions or consular court districts specified in the instrument of notification.

The applying State shall, by means of a communication addressed to each of the other contracting States, give notice of the method or methods of transmission which it will recognise for rogatory commissions destined for the colonies, possessions, or consular court districts included in the notification referred to in the first paragraph of the present Article.

Denunciation of the Convention by one of the contracting States on behalf of one or more of its colonies, possessions, or consular court districts, shall be effected in the form and under the conditions set forth in the first paragraph of this Article. It shall become operative 12 months after the date of the deposit of the instrument of denunciation in the archives of the Government of the French Republic.

Adherence to the Convention by a contracting State on behalf of one or more of its colonies, possessions or consular court districts shall, *ipso facto*, and without special notification, involve full and concomitant adherence to the Arrangement of 4th May 1910. The said Arrangement shall come into force there at the same time as the Convention itself. Denunciation of the Convention by a contracting State on behalf of one or more of its colonies, possessions or consular court districts shall not, however, involve, *ipso facto*, the concomitant denunciation of the Arrangement of 4th May 1910, or unless this is expressly stated in the instrument of notification.

Nevertheless, as from the date on which the present Convention comes into force, any adherence or denunciation applying to the said Arrangement and relating to the colonies, possessions or consular court districts of a contracting State shall be effected in conformity with the provisions of the present Article.

ANNEX II.—DRAFT PROTOCOL OF CLOTURE.

At the time of proceeding to the Convention of to-day's date the Plenipotentiaries wish to draw attention to the fact that the second paragraph of Article II. should be understood to mean that it is desirable that, except in special cases, persons who can prove that they have undergone full process of trial in a contracting State, and, if condemned, have served their sentence or are saved from the penalty by lapse of time, or have obtained pardon, shall not be proceeded against for the same offence in another contracting State.

In faith whereof the undersigned Delegates have drawn up this Final Protocol, of which a certified true copy will be sent to each of their respective Governments.

Done at Paris, in a single copy, on 4th May 1910.

For Germany (with a reservation regarding Article IV.):—ALBRECHT LENTZE; CURT JOEL.

For the United States of America:—A. BAILLY-BLANCHARD.

For Austria:—EICHHOFF.

For Hungary:—DR. LOUIS DE FEST DR. R. DE BARTHA.

For Belgium:—JULES LEJEUNE; ISIDORE MAUS.

For Brazil:—J. DE SOUZA-BANDEIRA; J. P. DE SOUZA-DANTAS (as Assistant).

For Denmark:—C. E. COLD.

For Spain:—OCT. CUARTERO.

For France:—R. BÉRENGER; L. RENAULT; RENÉ LECOMTE; MARCEL CHATAIN; DELIGNE; PAUL PEYSSONNIÉ; THÉODORE LISSIER; HENNEQUIN.

For Great Britain and Ireland:—E. W. FARNALL; F. S. BULLOCK; S. A. AITKEN.

For Italy:—G. C. BUZZATI; GEROLAMO CALVI

For the Netherlands:—A. DE STUERS; RETHAAN-MACARÉ.

For Portugal:—COMTE DE SOUZA-ROZA; JAYME DE SÉGUIER.

For Russia:—ALEXIS DE BELLEGARDE; WLADIMIR DERUGINSKI.

For Sweden:—F. DE KLERCKER.

For Switzerland:—LARDY.

ANNEX III.—DECLARATIONS AND RESERVATIONS RECORDED IN THE MINUTES OF THE CONFERENCE.

All the States represented at the Conference reserve the right to give the word *obscenity* the legal signification which they consider correct.

The German Delegation states that it cannot consider the word "article" as a legal and technical term which could at present be introduced into German legislation.

The French Delegation points out that French legislation draws a distinction between writings, properly so-called, and books, and makes every reservation on this point, as under French law books are not included in ordinary writings.

In view of British legislation, according to which in principle the Courts may not, in penal cases, take cognisance of acts committed outside the territory, nor convict upon written evidence, the Government of Great Britain must reserve to itself the right not to propose to its Parliament measures to ensure the institution of legal proceedings, in British territory, against persons who have not committed in British territory the offences dealt with in the present Convention.

The Government of the Netherlands declared that, in its opinion, the expression "outside such State" appearing in Article II of the Convention does not compel Her Majesty's Government to impose penalties upon persons other than Dutch subjects who have committed, in countries other than those of the signatory and adhering States, the acts or any of the acts which are the constitutive elements of the offences dealt with in the Convention.

VŒUX EXPRESSED BY THE CONFERENCE.

All the Delegations express the hope that each legislation will increase the severity of the penalty in cases where obscene matter is offered, given, sold or distributed to young persons. Each legislature will have the right to define the exact age below which young persons must be protected.

The Conference expresses the hope that the Government of the French Republic will endeavour to obtain the widest possible acceptance of the two Instruments which have just been discussed. It is most desirable that the Arrangement and the Convention should be given final form without delay by the States represented, and that these agreements should then receive the widest possible adherence from States not represented.

APPENDIX III.

Certain Speeches on Treaty of Mutual Guarantee and connected Resolutions.

(a) *Speeches in Assembly on 26th September of (i) M. de Jouvenel and (ii) The Right Hon. H. A. H. Fisher.*

(i) *Speech by M. de Jouvenel (France) in the Assembly, 26th September.*

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like first of all to associate myself gratefully with the words M. Scialoja has just spoken on behalf of Italy, to assure him once more that I am in perfect agreement with him, and to take this opportunity of thanking him both for what he has said and for the part played in the Third Committee by Count Tosti, who demonstrated that among her many arts Italy possesses that of harmonising conflicting points of view, and of reconciling all differences in one clear vision.

By his efforts the Italian Representative has greatly assisted in the task to which all the members of the Third Committee devoted themselves heart and soul from the first to the last minute of their deliberations. That task was the completion and realisation of Lord Robert Cecil's remarkable draft, for which we are asking the Assembly's approval to-day. The adoption of this proposal will, I think, represent one of the greatest successes achieved up to the present by the cause of idealism.

This success will no doubt be contested by sceptics. There always have been, and there always will be, people who will denounce everything new as an illusion, thinking this the essence of wit, and who are unable to perceive that the worst and most dangerous of all illusions is to believe that things will always happen as they have happened in the past, and to fail to realise that in a world of perpetual change, in which the methods of thought, of industry, and even of agriculture, are changing every day, that political methods alone remain immutable.

The great change which has been effected during the past century in the relations between man and the universe makes it impossible to doubt that we shall one day see a similar change in the relations between man and man, for it cannot be that mankind can be the only power in nature which the human brain fails to dominate.

Fortunately, Lord Robert Cecil is an idealist, and I respectfully admire him for it. I know that perfection cannot be attained by men, or even by politicians, who are accused of every crime. This has been so since the beginning of history, as I think that the oldest known manuscript, the Theban Papyrus, which we preserve in the Bibliothèque Nationale, contains this precept: "Do not mix with the crowd for fear that your name should be smirched."

But I know, too, that the accusation which redounds most greatly to the credit of a politician is perhaps that of being a Utopian, for in reality Utopia is often only a name given to the future by the past.

The primary condition of establishing peace in the world is to believe in it.

But there is another condition, and that is to study the sequence by which an idea can pass from the imagination of men into the realm of fact, and to satisfy and abide by the conditions which old civilisations, with their administrations, their habits of thought, and their routine, impose upon human aspiration.

Lord Robert Cecil has attempted to satisfy these conditions, and I think he has very largely succeeded in doing so, by the Treaty of Guarantee. We cannot forget that there have been long periods when within every country and within every tribe man's whole security rested in his strength and weapons, when he was his own law, his own police, his own justice, and that it has taken us long enough to realise how singular was this system of political and social security, whereby a man only felt safe in so far as he was a danger to his fellows.

Nevertheless, men realised it at last, and gradually began to create a form of justice to which men of good will had recourse; then, much later, they organised a police force; then, later again, they reached the point of organising that system of insurance companies, whereby the man whose house is burnt down can regain the money required for its reconstruction, and whereby the poor widow and her children may be certain of the bread which the dead worker will give them no more.

Now, when nations followed the example of individuals by forming societies, their intention was to pass through the same phases as the individual, and, ultimately, to guarantee to the peoples as a whole ever larger forms of security similar to those which every country offers to each and all the individuals which comprise it.

You have begun, gentlemen, by creating a tribunal—the Permanent Court of International Justice—which can, at present, define justice, but cannot dispense it. For its sentences are not obligatory. The words which it speaks from above the conflicts are oftener drowned by the clash of armed peoples. The international law of which we hail the birth is the only form of law which as yet includes no sanctions.

By the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee Lord Robert Cecil has begun the organisation of such sanctions; in doing so he has fulfilled one of the most cherished projects of my country's Representatives—the project which, in the early days of the League of Nations, M. Léon Bourgeois defined, with all the clearness of his lucid intellect, and which has been spread far and wide by the great voice of M. Viviani. Lord Robert Cecil has sought to organise that international power which must form the foundation of international law. The Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, which he proposed during the discussion on this subject, was envisaged by the Third Committee under three somewhat different aspects.

First, there was Lord Robert Cecil's conception; he desires a general treaty, or rather, he desires to begin with a general treaty, which would bind all the countries of the world at the same moment, would cause them all to disarm in the same proportion, and would give to all a guarantee without risks.

Then there was the Scandinavian conception. Its purport is that disarmament must be general, but that the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee need not be so; that the countries could swear to observe peace without undertaking to make others observe it.

Lastly, there was the Latin conception, which was supported by the Representatives of Italy, Brazil, Roumania, Poland, and other countries, and was maintained by the French Representative with an obstinacy for which he asks your indulgence.

When I recall the recent invasion of Belgium, and the still more recent invasion of Poland, when I realise that at this moment there are in Europe two great Powers whose alliance is the chief danger to the peace of Europe: the one a country of mystery more closely sealed to-day than in the beginning of civilisation, closed against all commissions of control, and able to press forward the preparations for the next war, while the other can furnish the organisation required by the first; and being convinced that humanity must first reinforce the most seriously threatened points, I for my part believe that individual treaties must precede the general Treaty. The whole cause of disarmament and peace must not be delayed on the hypothesis of a general Treaty, for in that case it would be made to hang upon the refusal of a single nation; on the contrary, I think the great Western nations should conclude individual treaties among themselves.

By such individual treaties these great nations would assume obligations not only towards one another, but also, and above all, towards the small and weak nations; they would give their guarantee to the most threatened frontiers. They would thus make possible a reduction of armaments by the nations which most need them, and have the greatest inducements to arm; weak and trustful nations would thus no longer be left at the mercy of imperialistic, powerful and enterprising Governments.

The Temporary Mixed Commission and the Permanent Advisory Committee will examine these three conceptions. We do not exclude any of them, though we consider Lord Robert Cecil's the most desirable.

In any event, and in whatever form these treaties may later be concluded, there is no doubt that they must not be like the pre-war alliances, and that they must remain perpetually open to all nations of good faith, provided that their good faith be proved.

But it is not enough to set up a tribunal, it is not enough to organise a police force; we must follow out the general idea of the insurance company.

We must admit that the victory of civilisation is perhaps not yet complete. One hundred and thirty years ago, in the early days of the French Revolution, a revolutionary speaker summed up all the hopes which the revolution aroused in Europe, and all the difficulties with which it met, in a striking phrase: "remember that happiness is a new idea in Europe."

This idea has been abandoned, it has been betrayed; but I know of one nation which has never renounced it, and which would think that it is useless to have shed so much blood at all the stations of all the Calvaries unless at the end there is a little light on the hill-tops.

Set against this conception of civilisation there is another, expressed in Bismarck's phrase: "Might is right"; and in Bethmann Hollweg's: "Treaties are scraps of paper"—the conception with which Nietzsche, the most famous philosopher of modern Germany, regards truth as the most ineffective form of knowledge.

On these two civilisations one must be right. Victory does not consist in scattered fleets, in destroyed armies and reconquered lands: victory is the bringing of men's minds to the victor's conception of human civilisation.

What, then, is the idea which must be rooted out of men's minds? It is the idea by virtue of which political, financial, and economic methods culminate in invasion.

We have not only to secure ourselves against the invasion of to-morrow; we have to efface the marks of the invasion of yesterday. Reparations must follow the footsteps left by invasion.

If we wish to avoid the war of to-morrow we must blot out the last traces of the war of yesterday. That is why the French Representative made that first proposal to rid Europe of the increase of armaments, which is the legacy of the great war; to begin by reducing the total military, naval and air expenditure of every nation to the 1913 figure, calculated by the methods of the Temporary Mixed Commission; and he suggested, in the second place, the method which consists in joining together the problem of reparations and the problem of inter-allied debts, in order to arrive, as soon as possible, at a solution of the whole economic and financial question which weighs down Europe, and, after giving the nations relief from the burden of armaments, to free their minds from anxiety with regard to their economic and financial future. The Committee adopted both these proposals and submits them to the Assembly.

In this way we hope that we have served well the cause of peace, to which no country is more attached than my own.

The more strongly my country has built up its national unity, the higher it has raised it, the wider the prospects of humanity it has perceived, and the more it has understood that its real destiny, inherent in its nature and history, is to carry from continent to continent, from sea to sea, the benefits of civilisations ignorant of one other, and thus to increase the thought of each people by the thought of all the others, in the hope of compounding one day out of the spirit of every age and the light of every clime the atmosphere which the modern man requires to draw the breadth of life.

Last year at the Assembly my friend and colleague, M. Noblemaire, who is kept from us by illness, told you how fierce was France's hatred of war. His words found an echo in your heart. I ask you, gentlemen, to keep them in your memory, and remember that, even if all the other nations forget the war, there is one that could not forget it, for she is the guardian of your graves, Great Britain, of yours, Dominions, of yours, Italy, of yours, Belgium, and of yours, Portugal, and of the graves of all the volunteers who came from most of the countries represented in this Assembly.

During the war we acted as the advance guard of civilisation, but we know that our victory was only possible because we were on the side of Right, because one by one the civilised nations took their places at our side, and at last, one day, we heard the cry, sublime in its heroism and its gratitude: "Lafayette, we are here!"

Conscious of having constituted the first international force enlisted in the service of peace, mounting guard round the treaties, we await relief, and declare that the cause of peace will be definitely won in our eyes on the day when mankind, by bringing us the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, will say to us in its turn, "France, we are here!"

(ii) *Speech by the Right Hon. H. A. H. Fisher in the Assembly on 26th September.*

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Assembly has listened to a remarkable speech from my friend, Lord Robert Cecil, who has given us an illuminating and earnest survey of the work and the recommendations of the Third Committee, and his speech has been followed by a series of important declarations from the delegates of three great Powers, none the more important than the declaration which has just been made by the Hon. Delegate for Japan.

I listened to the speech of Lord Robert Cecil with very great attention in the faint hope that in the course of it I might perhaps come across some sentence, some sentiment, some aspiration, from which I might be entitled to dissent. But although I watched him carefully I am bound to confess that I am in complete agreement with the whole tenor and substance of that remarkable speech.

If I may be allowed to say so, the Report of the Temporary Mixed Committee and the Report of the Third Committee belonged to, and will be regarded hereafter as belonging to, the classic documents on the disarmament question. There is no vagueness, no ambiguous ill-considered language in these documents; they are evidence of practical work, and what I admire particularly about the documents themselves, and about the speech in which they were recommended to the Assembly, is the fact that no attempt has been made to conceal the very serious difficulties attaching to the execution of what may be regarded as the larger and more ambitious plan recommended by Lord Robert Cecil.

There was no passage in Lord Robert's speech which created a greater impression upon the audience than that in which he described the horrors of aerial warfare; how, in the wars of the future, conducted as they will be with all the improvements which science may suggest, whole populations may be destroyed in the course of a single air raid, and whole civilisations swept out of existence. And yet Lord Robert had to confess that he had not yet been able to discover any practical method of dealing with the difficulty presented by aerial warfare and by the growth of aircraft. For this, among other reasons, I think we shall all agree it is desirable that the whole matter should be referred back, as it is suggested, to the consideration of the Temporary Mixed Commission, in order that that Commission may explore these difficulties, in order that it may surmount these difficulties, and in order next year it may come before us with a well-considered plan which may enter into the serious consideration of all the Governments concerned.

Now, my friend Lord Robert Cecil reminded me of a certain orator who, in the French Revolution, spoke as the orator of the human race. I am going to address the Assembly on behalf of a more limited and modest constituency. I speak on behalf of the population of a small island situated somewhere off the north coast of France. It is an island very mysterious to most people who live on this side of the Channel. I doubt whether the character, the idiosyncrasies, the policy of my countrymen are ever fully appreciated. We are an island, and we have had the benefits of an island. We have not been invaded for more than 800 years, and then we succumbed to the prowess of an individual combining in his own person the contrasted but indomitable racial characteristics of Dr. Nansen and M. de Jouvenel. Our history and our national temperament have been profoundly influenced by our insular position by the sense of security which is created by that position. We have been, at least ever since the time of Oliver Cromwell, a great civilian nation. We have never introduced, until recently, the system of conscription. We have been content with a small expeditionary force to deal with our colonial and Indian problems, and the temper of our population is profoundly pacific. Deep in the breasts of all the inhabitants of this little island is a distrust of far-reaching military commitments abroad. It is an instinct which every Government must respect, which no Government can disregard with impunity. If it disregarded it its life would be very short. Apart from this characteristic of our military history, we have also been, ever since the 13th century, a Parliamentary nation. We believe in Parliamentary forms. We believe in Parliamentary checks, and every Government must take account of that deep-seated constitutional instinct in the British race.

Nevertheless, in spite of those traditions—traditions rooted in our social institutional history—Great Britain and the British Empire did take part in the Great War of 1914. We entered into that war obeying a certain clear moral call. The conscience of Great Britain and the conscience of the British Empire was shocked by the wanton violation of Belgian neutrality. We felt that here was a small and innocent nation invaded by a great Power on its way to the destruction of the civilisation of France. We also were profoundly convinced that France herself was an innocent Power with no aggressive designs, pacific, desiring nothing better than to live quietly at home without disturbing her neighbour, and that the great Power of the German Empire had been launched for the destruction of France. Obeying these two motives the whole might of the British Empire was mobilised for the world war. And it is my personal belief, ladies and gentlemen, that if the situation of 1914 were ever to be repeated, if there was reason to believe that the soil of Belgium and France was in danger from an unprovoked aggression, that what happened in 1914 would happen again, and that Great Britain with all her daughter States would come to the rescue of right and justice then as before.

But, ladies and gentlemen, do not let us forget what I have already endeavoured to point out, namely, the deep-seated pacific outlook of the population of Great Britain. No sooner had the Great War ceased than the conscript army, which had reached dimensions comparable with those of the great armies of the continent, and was certainly not inferior in equipment or in skill—no sooner had peace been concluded than that great army was disbanded.

Great Britain has already undertaken a large and sweeping measure of disarmament. I very much dislike worrying members of this Assembly with figures; but may I illustrate this last proposition by putting before the Assembly a few figures to show that Great Britain has been earnestly pursuing the path of the disarmament which the eloquence of the *rapporteur*

commended to us this morning. On the 1st August 1914 the British Army, exclusive of Dominion forces and Indian troops employed under the Indian Government, numbered 244,795 effectives. On the 1st August 1918 it numbered 4,500,795 effectives. On the 1st July 1922 it numbered 232,568 effectives.

If we turn from effectives to expenditure, we find that in 1913 and 1914 the expenditure on the British Army amounted to 34,000,000/., in 1918 and 1919 to 835,000,000/., and in 1922-23 to 79,000,000/.. It must be remembered that since the war we have more than doubled the pay of the common soldier.

If we turn from the Army to the Navy we find similar reductions. The fleet strength in May 1914 was 60 battleships. In July 1922 it was 18 battleships.

I venture to submit that the process of disarmament which has been carried on in Great Britain since the war is sufficiently remarkable to justify us in making a serious plea to the whole world that the cause of peace should be promoted by further measures of the same kind.

We all listened with the greatest delight to the beautiful eloquence of M. de Jouvenel. We barbarians of the North cannot pretend to emulate that charm, that grace, that felicity. My only feeling as I listened to M. de Jouvenel was a feeling of some doubt as to whether his interpretation of the Resolutions which were adopted by the Third Committee precisely coincided with my own. I believe however, that I did agree most heartily—in fact, I do agree most heartily—with two of the main propositions which M. de Jouvenel advanced. We were urged to remember that there was no reason why we should not indulge in great ideals for the future because those ideals had not been realised in the past. He reminded us that the mind of man was constantly moving forward, and that we must have hope, and that we must have courage and that we must welcome with enthusiasm any scheme, however wide a surface it might offer to the cynic and the critic, which might tend to lead us into a better and a happier world. With those fine sentiments finely expressed I am in entire agreement.

I was also in agreement with M. de Jouvenel when he pointed out, in an eloquent passage at the end of his speech, that one of the great tasks before us was to create an atmosphere in which civilisation could prosper and flourish. But let me return for a moment to the main plan for effective disarmament which is contained in the Report of the Third Committee. It is a plan for a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee to be general, to be open to all, and, I hope, to be accepted by all. I am speaking quite frankly as a friend of peace to an Assembly consisting of friends of peace, and I want you to realise what is likely to be the attitude of British public opinion to these proposals. I cannot, of course, attempt to speak for the temper, the tone, the attitude of my countrymen a year hence when these proposals are in force; but I believe that the attitude of Great Britain towards these proposals will be largely influenced, not only by the number of States who may be willing to come into such a guarantee, but also by the evidence which may be afforded of the temper and the tone of Europe and of a real desire to use the Treaty of Guarantee for the purpose of securing and maintaining European peace and tranquillity.

I greatly admire one feature of the Report to which M. de Jouvenel also made allusion, that is, the paragraph in the Report which deals with the question of Reparations and Inter-Allied Debts. We are all now aware that the Reparations problem blocks progress. We are all anxious to see it solved. I do not believe that there is a single Englishman who denies that France is fully entitled to reparations for the cruel devastation which has been wrought by the invading armies of Germany. I do not believe that there is a single Englishman who denies that the debt which France is entitled to receive Germany is morally obliged to pay. I agree with the terms of the Report which make it clear that in the opinion of the Third Committee, it is very much to be desired that the problem of reparations and the problem of war debts should be treated as a whole. That is the view of the British Government. That was the position taken up by the Balfour Note. That is the idea which animates our policy. We desire that the whole question of reparations and inter-allied debts should be treated as a whole. But if it cannot be treated as a whole, if there are obstacles in the way of it being treated as a whole, then by all means let us find some solution for it piecemeal and by degrees.

The Honourable Delegate for Italy, in the course of his interesting speech, made an observation with which, if I may say so, I entirely concur. He said that the problem of reparations and inter-allied debts at present belonged to the Allied Governments, and that until it had been definitely referred, at the request of those Governments, to the League of Nations, it was undesirable that the League of Nations should intervene. I entirely concur with that doctrine. If I may speak for myself for a moment, I personally have long held the view that it was somewhat undesirable that the League of Nations should intervene in the liquidation of war problems, or at any rate in the liquidation of those war problems which were specially contentious than if the trade and commerce of the world are to revive, cannot receive a solution at the hands of the Powers concerned, then it is important, it is desirable—indeed, it is necessary—that the League of Nations should be invited to deal with it.

When we are considering the economic situation of the world, however, let us remember that it cannot only be put right, that the problem cannot only be solved by the skill, the goodwill and the give and take of the Allied and Associated Powers. We must have some good will on the part of Germany as well. We must have the co-operation of Germany, and

here I would make an earnest appeal to the good sense of the business community of Germany. Here is a problem the solution of which is urgent, a problem affecting not only the trade and commerce of the belligerent countries but the trade and commerce of the whole world, a problem poisoning international relations, preventing the spread of mutual confidence, arresting the progress of disarmament—as Lord Robert Cecil pointed out to you this morning—and nowhere will it be more injurious, if its solution be long delayed, than to the trade and commerce and security of Germany herself.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the report of the Third Committee contains many practical proposals with respect to which there can be very little doubt that with a little goodwill on all sides a solution is possible. I have only to mention the proposal with respect to the summoning of a Conference for the Limitation of Naval Armaments. Here is a proposal which is obviously practical. The Conference at Washington has shown the way. We know that it is possible for naval armaments to be limited, and for the taxpayer to be relieved of overwhelming burdens by the co-operation and goodwill of the Powers, and it is proposed that a Conference should be summoned to examine whether the principles which have been so happily applied at Washington could not be extended to limit the naval armaments of all those Powers who were not directly represented at that great Conference. That is one proposal which might be put into practical effect during the ensuing year.

Then, again, there are paragraphs in the Report dealing with the regulation of the manufacture and traffic of armaments. Here, again, the Temporary Mixed Commission has adopted the scheme of a Draft Convention which, to my mind, appears to be quite practical, quite capable of being put into operation, and at the same time pregnant with many important benefits to the whole human race. It is quite impossible, however, that the manufacture of armaments should be limited, or that the traffic in armaments should be limited without the co-operation of the United States of America. The armament manufacturers of Europe cannot be expected to submit to limitations from which the armament manufacturers of the United States are free, and if my voice could only carry across the Atlantic I would pray peace-loving citizens, men and women, in the United States to put pressure upon their Government to co-operate with the Powers represented in this great Assembly, in order that we may devise a code of reasonable regulations which may prevent the gross abuses which now attach to the manufacture and traffic in armaments.

When we have accomplished those two objects, each of them admittedly practical, each of them admittedly capable of being accomplished in the ensuing year—when we have accomplished those two great projects we shall have done much, but we shall not have done all. I for one welcome the bold and comprehensive scheme outlined by Lord Robert Cecil, not because I am blind to its difficulties, not because I do not think it requires a great deal of further consideration, but because it does appear to me to be a logical and comprehensive scheme for the reduction of armaments which only requires a little goodwill, energy and self-sacrifice to make effective.

But how are we to realise the aim of M. de Jouvenel? How are we to create an atmosphere in Europe and throughout the world in which civilisation can prosper and flourish? It is a grave problem, because with the science of war developed to its present pitch of awful perfection there is a grave peril overhanging civilisation. There was a sombre and impressive passage in M. de Jouvenel's speech outlining the possible combination of two Powers, neither of them Members of this League, for the purpose of renewing the awful work of destruction. Is it really beyond all dreams that the great feuds of Europe should be appeased? I remember last year talking to an eminent French friend of mine, a great man of letters and also a considerable politician, who told me that in his own life-time his country house had been twice burned to the ground by the invading armies of Germany, and he went on to say, in a sad spirit of fatalism, that he supposed that his son or his grandson would have to witness the same catastrophe, that these great invasions were periodical, that they occurred with the regularity of a recurring decimal, that nothing could avert them and that all that one could do was to arm and prepare against them. If that temper of fatalism prevails in Europe, if we are all resigned to the proposition that the world can never improve, that wars must continue in future as they have in the past, only more deadly, more destructive, then there is very little use for this League of Nations.

Our business is to create a new temper in Europe and in the world, to rally peace-loving men and women in every nation and in every community, quite apart from the lines of division which existed during the Great War. It is our duty to urge upon them to combine together to will peace, to spare no effort to influence the public opinion of their respective countries to see that civilisation cannot endure another war on the scale on which another war will inevitably be waged. Then indeed, if we are unremitting in propaganda if we do not falter in faith, it may yet be possible to see the great dream outlined by Lord Robert Cecil and supported by the Delegates of Italy, Japan and France finally and effectually realised.

(b) Proceedings of Eighth Meeting of Third Committee, 21st September.

The CHAIRMAN opened the discussion.

M. HENRY DE JOUVENEL (France) read the following draft Resolution:—

“The Assembly,

“Considering that moral disarmament is an essential preliminary condition of material

disarmament and that this moral disarmament can only be achieved in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and security :

" Declares that such confidence cannot be attained so long as the world continues to suffer from disorganisation of the exchanges, economic chaos and unemployment, and that the only method of remedying these evils is to put an end to the uncertainty which prevails regarding the means for the restoration of the devastated regions and the settlement of the inter-allied debts ;

" Expresses the hope that, in so far as these questions can be regulated by the unaided effort of the European nations, the Governments signatories of the International Treaties and Agreements which deal with these questions, and within the framework of which they must be envisaged, will achieve as soon as possible a general settlement of the problems of reparations and interallied debts ;

" And it further recommends that the Council shall devote constant attention to every effort made in this direction by the Governments concerned, it being understood that it can only usefully assist in the solution of these problems if requested to do so by the Governments in question."

M. de Jouvenel then continued: I must ask permission, Gentlemen, to make certain comments on this Resolution. The day before yesterday, when you had just defined for the first time by a unanimous vote the practical form which the reduction of armament should take, and at the moment when you might have imagined that your work was over, Lord Robert Cecil rose to ask you to continue ; he called upon you, after having laid down the future conditions of peace, to give consideration to the immediate conditions, and I at once supported his request. It is, indeed, of the greatest importance that the League of Nations, after having drawn up a diplomatic and military formula for disarmament, that is to say for peace, in the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, should proceed to elaborate a political and economic formula.

It is desirable that all the terms of the problem should be defined and the extent of our obligations and of our rights limited. I feel that that duty is all the more incumbent upon me on account of the statement contained in certain articles in the German Press, that France had requested the League of Nations to convene an international conference to deal with the question of reparations and with that of inter-allied debts. There is no ground for making so contradictory and even absurd a supposition at the very moment when the French Government, in conjunction with the Allied Governments, is organising a Conference at Brussels for the settlement of these questions. It must not in any way be imagined that the international methods of the League of Nations override national methods, or that the League may encroach upon the rights of States and deprive them, up to a certain point of their liberty. That is the very reverse of its object. The establishment of freedom within national boundaries has enabled parties which formerly oppressed each other in consequence of the different views which they held, to co-operate and develop in harmony. In the same way, the establishment of the League of Nations must enable national movements to develop on their own lines.

It is, however, certain that when questions of such importance arise which so closely affect the peace of the world, the representatives of world opinion here present cannot refrain from expressing their opinion.

It seemed impossible to the French Delegation to reply :—France has nothing to say. On the contrary, I welcomed in Lord Robert Cecil's proposal an opportunity of presenting in its real aspect the true feeling of France. I do not know whether it was desirable, in view of the part she plays in the life of mankind, that after the sufferings which she has borne for four years she should have to bear in addition the moral suffering of being the victim of an international slander. But I know how profoundly she suffers from not being understood.

The other day M. Lange offered a tribute to France which must have seemed to him a perfectly natural one, recalling the fact that it was impossible to attribute to her any sort of responsibility for the war, for the very reason that before the war she had withdrawn her troops from her frontiers. I thought, as I listened to him with gratitude, that if I were to express to him the emotion and gratitude which I felt, he would be sure to say to me with his usual candour of expression and speech : " But it is perfectly natural ; I have only performed an act of elementary justice, and you have no occasion to thank me."

That is all that France demands to-day : elementary justice. I know how difficult it is to realise the situation and not to be struck by the apparent contradiction, nay, the paradox that a victorious nation, whose generals have led to victory the armies of all civilised peoples, and which has in four years reaped enough glory for centuries to come, should, nevertheless, after its victory, plead for justice.

One is tempted to reply : " Does she ask for justice ? Has she not executed justice ?" No, she has not done so in the ancient cruel sense of the word. We have not executed it, because, in order to spare mankind a few days of war, just as at the beginning of the war we withdrew within our frontiers, so at the end of the war we did not carry victory beyond our frontiers. Why not ? Because for us victory meant only two things : security and reparations.

Have we at least obtained security? Have we had reparations? When the Prime Minister of France laid the Peace Treaty before the Chambers, he declared to the representatives of a country, which, it must not be forgotten, had undergone five invasions in five quarters of a century, which checked the first at Valmy and the last at the Marne, and has on three occasions seen the invader in its capital: "I do not bring you either a strategical frontier or strategical security, but I bring you the moral security of the American and British treaties of mutual guarantee. Apart from that," he added significantly, "we have nothing."

Where is the American Treaty of Guarantee? Where is the British Treaty of Guarantee? We have nothing.

With regard to reparations, we have at the present moment spent 84 milliards of French money in the restoration of our devastated regions. How much of these 84 milliards is German money? Not a franc!

In the matter of security, nothing! In the matter of reparations, nothing!

That is not all. I must ask you for the moment to follow me still further. The share of France in the German debt has been fixed at 52 per cent. I do not intend to discuss this figure of 52 per cent, and I take it as it stands. Under the most favourable supposition, that is to say, if the Agreement of 5th May 1921 were to be executed in full, and if Germany were to pay annually—it is far from being the case—three milliards of gold marks in cash, France would receive 52 per cent of these three milliards, that is to say, 1,560 million gold marks.

We should have 1,657 million gold marks to pay each year on account of our debts towards our Allies in accordance with the American scheme which fixes the amounts and periods of payment, by applying to France's debt to England the same conditions of payment as to the American credits; but we should only receive 1,560 million, which would mean that we should have a deficit of 87 million gold marks or 500 million francs, and in addition to this the damage occasioned by invasion would have to be paid by the victims.

For these reasons, France, having gained the victory, demands justice.

But do not imagine that France is thinking only of herself. If that were so, she would have altered very much, and four years, however, full of sacrifice and grief, are not sufficient to change the character of a nation. No, France will make a great effort; she has already begun to do so. If I were to read to you the resolutions of the Governments and the Supreme Council in 1920, you would see that they were unanimous in asserting that the reconstruction of the devastated areas was the primary condition for the reconstitution of Europe.

The Financial Conference of the League of Nations held at Brussels expressed the same opinion.

France having already spent 84 milliards on reconstruction and having therefore proved to the inhabitants of the devastated areas the solidarity of the whole nation, considers it indispensable that the solidarity of Europe should be demonstrated, without waiting for the intervention of the United States.

We eagerly await the moment when the League of Nations will receive the United States among its Members, and we are convinced that only then will the League of Nations reach its full development, and that the difficulties of Europe cannot be completely solved without the intervention of the United States. But we must not wait for the United States, now any more than we did during the war.

To adapt an old adage, Europe must say to itself "America will help those who help themselves."

France is ready to take part in this work of European collaboration and is not thinking solely of her own case.

When France surveys the situation, she fully realises the misery which is accumulating in Europe, both in countries with low rates of exchange, which can no longer purchase goods and whose financial situation is worse than her own, and in countries with high rates of exchange, which are unable to sell, and whose economic situation is also perhaps worse than her own.

All this must be remedied, but how can that be done? We must collaborate in restoring the normal progress of civilisation. What was the object of the great power and the great economic and financial work of civilisation? It has been the creation of world prices for goods. An article used to be worth more or less the same price in New York, London or Tokio, and this international price was being continually reduced owing to more scientific organisation of production, to transport facilities, and to the establishment of factories nearer to the supplies of materials. The war has destroyed this system, and peace has not re-established it, because peace has not overthrown the barriers which have been raised by the war; economic and financial peace has not yet been concluded.

To-day each country has its own prices and currency, as in the early stages of civilisation.

Why is this? It is because Europe, having entered a moratorium period in 1914, has not yet emerged from it. The Treaty of Peace has laid down principles but has not calculated the cost of applying them. The agreement concluded in London in May 1921, which approximately fixed the German debt did not organise the means of securing payment.

And the result is that on the one hand Germany has been allowed to believe that it would be to her interest not to pay, and that she could escape the obligations both of economic laws and of the laws of international morality ; on the other hand the European countries which took part in the war (leaving France out of consideration), after calculating on one side of the account the losses they suffered during the war and on the other the sums placed to their credit for reparations, have perceived that they have more on the debit than the credit side ; and no country knows exactly what it owes. Some countries even considered the question of their debts from the point of view of morality ; and no State proved itself capable of fulfilling the first condition of international or national recovery, which consists in drawing up a balance sheet and taking stock of the situation.

We now ask you to put an end to the moratorium period and to initiate the period of definite solutions. We ask you to consider the solutions in their relation to the treaties and international agreements. The reason for this is that we must not forget that the Treaties of Peace, which are far from perfect from the economic and financial point of view, have nevertheless broken the chains of oppressed races and have liberated peoples. A treaty which has obtained results such as these cannot be seriously challenged.

The primary condition of peace is the observance of international agreements : once a pledge is broken there is no knowing how far that first breach of faith will lead.

Revised treaties are tantamount to violated neutralities ; the essential condition of peace, the primary treaty of mutual guarantee is the treaty which each nation signs with its own conscience, and by which it avers that it is true to itself and respects its signature.

Fortunately for the solution of these problems, there is no need to revise treaties ; it will be enough to revise or rather to cast up accounts. In conformity with Lord Robert Cecil's proposal, it will be enough to link the problem of reparations with that of inter-allied debts, as these two problems cannot be solved independently, but the solution of the one depends on the solution of the other.

These questions are like the States that are dependent on one another ; there must be a desire to conclude an economic peace in order to ensure political peace ; there must be a desire to reconstruct Europe without waiting for foreign aid ; there must be a desire that Europe shall assume as her first duty the mission of obliterating the traces of war by obliterating the traces of invasion. Finally, all nations must tell themselves that no individual nation can save itself, and that they have only the choice between joint responsibility for reparation or joint responsibility for disaster.

Mr. Fisher (Great Britain) presumed that the proposition presented by M. de Jouvenel was intended to be substituted for that put forward by Lord Robert Cecil at the last meeting of the Committee, and he (Mr. Fisher) was prepared to accept it for three reasons. Firstly, because it drew attention to the great importance of solving the problems of reparations and of inter-allied debts. It might be said by a critic of M. de Jouvenel's proposition that its importance was somewhat over-rated. These problems were not, of course, the sole issue standing between Europe and a complete scheme of disarmament such as was sketched in Lord Robert Cecil's resolution. They had to take into account the memories of the war, and the feelings of resentment, the legacy of the war, nor could they leave out of account the ambiguous position of Russia ; but they all admitted that the problems of reparations and inter-allied debts were great problems calling for all the resources of European statesmen to solve in order to arrive at that measure of mutual confidence, peace and tranquillity for which the populations of the world yearned. Secondly, because it emphasised the importance of a prompt solution of complicated and difficult economic questions. Statesmen in various countries had been endeavouring to arrive at some arrangement which would meet the economic needs of the situation, but hitherto they had failed. There had been individual differences of opinion as to the best method of carrying out the common policy of reparations, but there had been no difference of opinion between the Governments of France and England as to the right of France to have reparation for the devastations caused by the invading armies of Germany. There was not a single Englishman who denied the right of France to reparation or Germany's obligation to pay. He agreed with M. de Jouvenel that it was vital in the interests of Europe that there should be found as soon as possible acceptable and workable solutions of these difficult problems.

In the third place, he welcomed M. de Jouvenel's proposal because it appeared possible that part of the problems might at some time be referred to the League of Nations for consideration at the invitation of the inter-Allied Powers themselves. He thought he was not wrong in reading that interpretation into the proposition, and unless he was greatly misled the general tenor of the document produced by M. Jouvenel was intended to provide a postern gate, as it were, through which, assuming a solution could not be found in the normal way by negotiation, the Council of the League might be called into action. The League had now become established, it had already had the Silesian question referred to it when agreement appeared to be impossible, and had found a solution.

M. de Jouvenel had spoken of the international calumny to which France had been exposed. Great Britain also had suffered from attack, but he (Mr. Fisher) did not wish to go into that as they were notoriously mysterious nation lying in a remote and barbarous part of the world, and could not always be expected to be understood. But the common sacrifice, the

common effort, England and France had made during the war was a memory which would always exist as an important element in the political life of England. They had too many graves in France ever to forget it.

He (Mr. Fisher) heartily re-echoed M. de Jouvenel's words when he spoke of the importance of eliciting the support of America. He regarded it as one of the greatest calamities of civilisation that at the end of the war the powerful and impartial influence of the American Republic was withdrawn from the peace negotiations, and he trusted the time was not far distant when that great and free Republic would bring to the aid of Europe that impartiality and judgment which she represented. But there was another Power whose assistance was necessary if the reparations problem was to be adequately solved, and that Power was Germany. There were many elements in German public opinion which gave cause for extreme disquiet, and the attitude which had been recently taken up by many important German organs towards the League of Nations gave evidence of a temper which would not contribute towards the settlement of the European difficulty. He hoped, however, he was right in thinking that there were signs of a more rational feeling among the great leaders of business opinion in Germany. Surely business instinct, if nothing else, should lead German opinion to welcome a rational and moderate solution of the problem. It was to be hoped that the economic distress at present existing would cause Germany to listen to the voice of reason and co-operate in the solution of this great problem. He agreed with M. de Jouvenel that Treaties must be strictly observed, but if at any future time the Council of the League of Nations should be asked to solve any part of the problem, he thought a certain departure from the strict text of the Treaties would be necessary, as at present they only allowed of the question being dealt with by the Reparations Commission.

He had great pleasure in associating himself with the proposition which had been made by M. de Jouvenel.

M. HYMANS (Belgium) then rose to speak: We have just heard remarkable speeches which I am convinced will be noised abroad and will produce a profound impression on public opinion. You will understand, gentlemen, the intense emotion and the anxious attention with which the Belgian representative has listened to them.

Belgium has a right to reparations. Justice requires it. Common fairness demands that the aggressor shall repair the damage he has done. Belgium is in dire need of these reparations in order to re-establish her financial situation. I, for my part, adhere to the spirit of the proposals which have just been laid before the Committee and which are somewhat akin to the idea I outlined when the report on the work of the Council was being discussed. More especially I suppose M. de Jouvenel's proposal, which appears to me a concise, practical and politic statement of the ideas set forth by Lord Robert Cecil.

Lord Robert Cecil and M. de Jouvenel have given prominence to the thought which is in all men's minds, but which they have long hesitated to utter aloud, *i.e.*, that the problem of reparations and of the inter-allied debts which is oppressing Europe is an obstacle to the spirit of pacification, that it fosters the spirit of war by fanning passion and resentment, and that it bars the way which should lead to the re-establishment of political and economic harmony in Europe.

At the risk of failing in the exercise of its functions, of failing to justify its existence, I might almost say of failing in its duty, the League of Nations cannot fain ignorance of such a problem, nor yet pass it by, blind and deaf to its urgency. The League must face the problem, and it is natural and legitimate that, according to the terms of M. de Jouvenel's proposal, we should submit the following recommendation:—

“ That the efforts of the Governments concerned, who are negotiating the solution of reparations problems by other methods and on other lines, should reach a practical and just solution and that the Council should devote constant attention to their laudable efforts. ”

We shall all be unanimous in adopting such a resolution, as it is well understood that the Council, several of whose members represent Governments now engaged in seeking the solution of the reparations problem, cannot take note of it unless the Governments concerned agree to request it to do so. I imagine that such is M. de Jouvenel's idea. (M. de Jouvenel signified his assent.)

I have felt an imperious desire to second the noble and generous ideas voiced by the previous speakers. In conclusion, I should like to express to the Committee a sentiment which is no doubt essentially Belgian, but which, I am sure, will be shared by the representatives of all the small countries present on that Committee, *viz.*, the joy of seeing manifested in such noble, moving, and eloquent terms the sincere, agreement of two great Powers like England and France who are united by common sacrifices—in which my little country has some share—an agreement which is a lasting guarantee and the most important safeguard of order and harmony in the world.

COUNT TOSTI (Italy) stated that M. de Jouvenel's proposal had the entire approval of the Italian Delegation. Lord Robert Cecil had developed the theory that disarmament was an impossibility if the actual causes of anxiety and uncertainty now prevalent in the world were

not removed, and he had shown very clearly the close relation between the question of disarmament and the economic situation of the world in general and of Europe in particular. The speaker would also refer to the gravity of the economic situation, which dominated all problems and questions of a political nature.

Disarmament was one of the essential conditions of European reconstruction, and this in turn depended on the restoration of the economic equilibrium.

The French representative, starting from the premises laid down by Lord Robert Cecil, sought a practical and concrete solution. If, as it seemed to him, the spirit of that resolution and of Lord Robert Cecil's proposal were the same, the Italian representative gladly gave his complete and unreserved support to them—the more readily because Italy (perhaps because she had suffered far more severely than the other great Powers from the immediate economic consequences of the war) had been the first to proclaim the close connection between the economic and political questions which have been troubling the world since the end of the war. Such had been Italy's line of conduct at all international assemblies or discussions with her allies, from the Conference of San Remo to the Genoa Conference; moreover, that line of conduct was entirely based on public opinion.

In the first paragraph of M. de Jouvenel's resolution there appeared a truth which, although evident, had not yet been realised, or, at any rate, not yet accepted as the real and effective starting-point of any attempt at world reconstruction.

The general reduction of armaments was an outward and political expression of general readjustment, and no general readjustment was possible without economic stabilisation, and without the realisation of social and economic readjustment throughout the world.

Such a proposal had the complete and sincere approval of Italy.

As the next paragraph asserted the necessity for reaching as soon as possible a joint solution of the problem of reparations and of inter-allied debts, it was entirely in conformity with the policy of Italy and of her policy at all inter-allied assemblies.

The third part of the resolution recommended that the Council should give constant attention to all efforts made in the direction indicated above; that sentence was open both to a general and to a specific interpretation.

If it meant that in the investigation of the disarmament question the Council, the supreme authority to which the solution of the question had been entrusted, could not and must not lose sight of the general situation and the economic causes affecting the situation, he had no criticism to make.

But the expression might also mean that the League of Nations would itself be called upon for a direct solution of the question of the financial relations between the various Governments, either of actual inter-allied debts or of reparations obligations.

If such was the intention of the proposal, they would be right in considering—and indeed he thought it was their duty to do so—the consequences which the development of that theory might involve. It was not merely a question of competence which was at issue, that is to say, of settling whether such a proposal could be accepted almost on the eve of a conference between the Governments directly concerned, but it was also a constitutional question, and one of principle; in the idea which gave birth to the League of Nations the direct aim was to keep it removed from all questions which might implicate it in war or in the application of treaties between conquerors and conquered.

In the interests of the League of Nations itself the speaker was anxious to anticipate any divergence of opinion that might arise. However, his anxieties in this respect were relieved by the latter part of the paragraph, according to which the Council cannot offer any suggestion for the solution of the problem unless the Governments concerned ask it to do so; that meant that the initiative in that province would always remain with the Governments concerned, and it would always be for them to decide whether it was necessary or opportune to take steps, and also what means should be employed.

In order to emphasise the importance of this limitation, Count Tosti proposed a slight amendment, to substitute for the words "unless the Governments . . ." the words "unless all the Governments . . ."; this amendment was prompted by the desire to leave the initiative entirely in the hands of the combined Governments concerned, and not, as might be thought at first sight, with the Governments considered individually.

With this reservation, which was fully justified not only as a question of competence but as a question of principle, the speaker, in conclusion, expressed his approval of the spirit of the French Delegate's resolution.

LORD ROBERT CECIL, (South Africa) readily accepted M. de Jouvenel's proposal, but preferred it in its original form. As a Member of Parliament of long standing, he considered it unwise and dangerous to change, as Count Tosti suggested, a formula which had been thoroughly discussed, submitted to other delegations and perhaps even communicated to certain Governments.

He did not take exception in any way to Mr. Fisher's suggestion that his (Lord Robert Cecil's) proposal would be withdrawn, but he thought it necessary without altering M. de Jouvenel's text to add a preamble.

In agreement with M. Hymans, Lord Robert Cecil expressed his satisfaction at the understanding which had been arrived at between the representatives of the four Powers concerned and took note of that understanding. Perhaps the resolution did not go very far, and perhaps it did not in itself constitute a settlement of the problems; but it did at any rate point out a way, and showed the possibility of making an appeal in the last resort to the League of Nations.

Such results would compensate for a great deal.

Lord Robert Cecil supported, Mr. Fisher's statement, according to which nobody doubted the justice of the French and Belgian claims in the matter of reparations; if there had been differences of opinion, they referred solely to the method to be employed in order to attain the best and most practical results. They had not only to settle how much was to be paid, but also the possibilities and method of payment.

He did not conceal from the Committee that, although he accepted M. de Jouvenel's resolution, he would like to have gone just a little further in some respects, or rather, perhaps, he would like to draw definitely some of the conclusions which seemed to be implied. M. de Jouvenel had said with great force, both in his speech and in his resolution, that the non-settlement of these questions was causing widespread distress and even disaster in the countries of the world. To him it seemed a logical conclusion that all those countries should be ready to take their share of responsibility in the settlement of those questions. Again, M. de Jouvenel said, and he agreed with him, that the League could not usefully intervene without the consent of the signatory Powers. He thought he should have liked to turn the phrase round and to say rather that the League could intervene usefully if the signatory Powers requested it to do so.

But he agreed, not only with the Resolution to the full extent to which it went, but still more, if he might be allowed to say so, with the admirably lucid and courageous speech with which M. de Jouvenel had introduced it. He agreed, he thought he might say, with every word of that speech, not least the extremely able and searching criticism of the uncertainty produced by the essential features of the financial settlement arrived at at Versailles. He most fully agreed with what M. de Jouvenel had said. There was nothing in finance so bad as uncertainty; there was nothing so bad either for debtor or for creditor as not to know exactly what was owed and exactly what might be expected to be paid. The uncertainty which had hung over Europe and indeed the world arising from that unfortunate draft had been, he thought, a great disaster and one which would be worth an infinity of pains to clear away from the financial atmosphere.

Certain things which M. de Jouvenel had said were, if he would allow him to say so without impertinence, not only very true but immensely valuable. He agreed most heartily with him when he dwelt on the world importance of that question and the urgency of the settlement. He felt it as strongly as M. de Jouvenel did. It had been put with immense force in the sentence which he ventured to quote from the Financial Committee of the League: "It is our firm conviction that it is hopeless to expect the economic welfare of the world to be restored until the problem of inter-governmental indebtedness is solved in a sober and practical manner." He thought that was absolutely true, and it was very well that it should have been stated with such force and lucidity by the representative of France.

He agreed most fully also with his statement as to the complete inter-connection between the reparations question and that of the allied debts. He agreed when M. de Jouvenel went further than that and said that all those questions were inter-connected and could not be separated. That was the fundamental conception on which the League of Nations was founded the inter-dependence of nations, the fact that the amount of interests which were common was so immensely greater than the amount of interests which were opposed to one another. That was the fact, the actual fact, not a visionary theory, but the actual fact of life on which they had built their League; and because he was satisfied that that was a real fact he was satisfied of the permanence and prosperity of the League in the future.

Lastly might he say how much he agreed with M. de Jouvenel when he said—he was quoting from memory—that the war had been almost equally disastrous to conquerors and conquered. No one won a war. The only difference was that some lost it more and some lost it less. Those fundamental truths, so brilliantly, so eloquently, so forcibly expressed, would, he was satisfied, be of great importance far beyond the walls of that room, and he ventured, therefore, very respectfully to thank M. de Jouvenel and to accept his proposal with great gratitude.

M. MANOLESCO-ROMNICEANO (Roumania) felt that when countries which had suffered devastation were in question, he could not help recalling that Roumania was one of the victims which had suffered most cruelly. She had suffered from invasion, with all its attendant evils of destruction and devastation. Her communications were completely destroyed when the invader withdrew. As a result of unparalleled efforts, her situation has markedly improved through the consolidation of her Treasury bonds, the payment of her dividends, the establishment of a sane and practical budget, the budgetary surplus due to the improvement in her financial administration, the marked progress in the management, construction, and operation of her railways. Yet, in spite of these efforts, in spite of immense sources of wealth, her economic status was still far from corresponding to her natural wealth on account of the continual fall of the exchange, which prevented her from making full use of all these factors. This fall was

due partly to the uncertainty of the situation as a result of the near neighbourhood of Soviet Russia, partly to the issue of a large number of banknotes, partly to the deposits of gold not yet restored by the Soviets, partly again to the general uneasiness prevalent in the country as a result of the reluctance on the part of the conquered to recognise the wrongs they had committed and to repair the evil and havoc they had wrought.

The conqueror believed themselves justified in hoping that the solidarity of the Allies during the war, solidarity which led them to victory, would not last long in time of peace; and that in order to evade the obligations imposed on them by the treaties they signed, they could safely count not only on dissensions and discord, but even on rupture between the Allies. Such was the cause of the general uneasiness, for the failure to carry out the terms of the treaties and the refusal to pay reparations would render the application of sanctions inevitable, and such a step would involve complications the scope and gravity of which could not be anticipated. This state of affairs must be remedied by the reconstruction of the devastated areas, and this could be done by settling the inter-Allied debts. It would then be easy to find means for the reduction of armaments.

Thus, while heartily supporting M. de Jouvenel's proposal, he for his own part recommended that the States—all the States—should make every possible effort to ensure the observance and fulfilment of treaties.

M. BRANTING (Sweden) felt that this was a historical occasion, being the first time the great powers had proposed to appeal to the League of Nations to solve one of the greatest of the problems which was troubling humanity. The countries which had remained neutral suffered no less from the present situation than did the belligerents. Difficulties were everywhere increasing, and it was the duty of the neutrals to give their full support to all the attempts which would be made with a view to restoring confidence and to initiating the era of the economic restoration of the world.

The speaker thought that in associating himself with the spirit of the resolution so eloquently presented by M. de Jouvenel, he was expressing the feelings of the States which were in the same situation as Sweden. The question of the settlement of debts was closely connected with that of the reduction of armaments, and if economic stability could be re-established, the inevitable result would be an improvement in the situation of the whole world.

Referring to Mr. Fisher's remarks on the necessity for the adherence of the United States, he added that it was indispensable to secure the sincere collaboration of Germany; it was in this way that public opinion in the former neutral countries regarded the possibility of payment by Germany. These payments would be an act of justice, and an agreement must be reached in order that they should be carried out.

The speaker saw in the adherence of Great Britain to M. de Jouvenel's proposal a proof that the alleged misunderstandings between the two great Allies were not insurmountable; and these two countries would afford valuable aid to the other nations in accomplishing that reconstruction which was so necessary for humanity.

M. LE JONKHEER LOUDON (Netherlands) enthusiastically supported the proposal of the French Delegation. He wished, not only to give expression to his personal feelings, but to declare publicly his entire agreement with this proposal, which summarised in a practical manner that submitted by Lord Robert Cecil.

Although it was true that the League of Nations was not in a position to solve all the economic problems which arose, it was able by using its weighty authority, its prestige, and its increasing influence, to take a step which would have far-reaching consequences by its action in inviting the Governments to take the bull by the horns.

The solution of the economic problem depended on the solution of the financial problem which concerned every country. It was imagined that some countries had enriched themselves during the war: this was an error. Some individuals and some companies had been able to make their fortunes, but at present suffering was universal.

The League of Nations therefore asked the Governments concerned to solve the great problem. Neither could do anything alone, but the neutral countries had already voiced their united opinion; on the day on which all the Members on the League of Nations should have reached a full agreement, their voice would acquire such volume that it could not fail to be heard.

If the League of Nations succeeded, a great step forward would have been made in solving a vital problem.

Like the previous speakers, he was convinced that all schemes for disarmament, with or without guarantees, would come to nothing as long as the great financial and economic problem had not been solved. For this reason he supported the formula of M. de Jouvenel and Lord Robert Cecil. He hoped that the former neutrals, the small countries which were in the same situation as Holland, would add their voices to his in favour of the prompt realisation of a happy solution.

M. MORRA (Switzerland) wished in his turn to state the adherence of his country to the proposal submitted in perfect agreement by M. de Jouvenel and Lord Robert Cecil.

It was inevitable, as he had foreseen, that in studying disarmament the Committee could not fail to encounter the question of reparations and inter-allied debts. There would certainly be no vital problems henceforward from which the League of Nations would be excluded; the world had learned in the school of suffering that all problems were interdependent and that it would only escape from the distress and ruin which threatened if all countries made a united effort to obtain reconciliation and peace.

The question of reparations had been discussed, but the right of France to staunch and heal her wounds had never been contested. The questions to be solved had always been questions only of method, practicability and moderation.

M. de Jouvenel's proposal contained a recommendation addressed to the Governments which had signed international treaties and agreements, requesting them to make a common effort; it was understood that the question of reparations and inter-allied debts was primarily the concern of the countries directly interested; it was only if they were incapable of reaching an agreement that they would apply to the Council. In this connection, he had to raise a very delicate question in his sincere desire to serve the cause of peace. As God was his witness, he had no ulterior motive, and he was speaking with the best intentions, being guided above all by his passionate love for the noble, great and glorious French nation. But which were the Governments concerned?

He had understood that M. Hymans referred to the great Allied Governments. He would be glad if he were mistaken, but he thought that among the Governments concerned should be included the Government without whose co-operation it was vain to hope that the reparations question could ever receive a satisfactory solution.

By this he meant not only the Government of the United States, but another Government which had been in the minds of the whole world. The League of Nations had also need of the collaboration of Germany, and he was considering the hypothesis that Germany would look towards the League.

Germany had not sent in a request for admission. Frankly, he had hoped that this request would be made this year, and that a unanimous arrangement would be reached to open the door of the League to this great conquered nation. Since 1920 Germany's desire to enter the League had weakened; now public opinion even seemed to show some hostility. This was an unhealthy and a dangerous feeling; it was to be hoped that Germany would understand that it was her duty to collaborate in all the enterprises of peace.

Although Germany was not yet a Member of the League of Nations, she would not have to be repulsed when she desired to make overtures to the League.

He had represented his country at the Genoa Conference, and he did not know what the result of the deliberations of the Assembly would be; but one fact would remain through all history, and that was that the Convening Powers had considered Germany and Russia as being entitled to a place on the Political Committee of eleven. This was a result which would have consequences which he hoped to see developed.

21st September 1922 would perhaps become an historic date. The League of Nations was certainly the child of victory, but it had risen above this victory. It could not be merely an alliance of victors, it would have to become a just and impartial League which would pronounce the final words of peace and reconciliation.

THE COUNT DE GIMENO (Spain) stated that the meeting held that day would be much talked of in the political centres of the world; two great Powers, which might have sometimes been thought to hold diverging ideas on questions of procedure and method, had come to an agreement. That was a great step towards moral peace, the basis of political peace.

Together with all people of good-will, Spain congratulated herself on this happy event which had occurred under the auspices of the League of Nations.

MR. H. A. L. FISHER (Great Britain) spoke on behalf of the Japanese Delegate, and stated that the latter withdrew the amendments which he had submitted, with the exception of the one dealing with the third paragraph of M. de Jouvenel's proposal. Was it intended that all non-European nations should be excluded from the regulations contemplated? It would, he thought, be easy to agree on a wording which would be satisfactory to Japan.

M. DE JOUVENEL (France) replied in practically the same words to the three authors of amendments.

Speaking to Count Tosti, he said that the last sentence of the proposed text had precisely the meaning attributed to it by the Italian Delegate. It was quite clear that, in his own mind, he had meant all the Allied Governments; the use of the plural left no doubt in the matter. Agreement with the Italian Delegate was therefore complete, and he hoped that he would not consider it necessary to insist on his amendment.

He made the same reply to M. Manolesco. He thought that France's loyalty to international agreements and treaties had been sufficiently strongly affirmed by him; both in the text of his resolution and in the commentary he had made upon it France had no need to give further proofs of this loyalty.

The Japanese Delegate must not misunderstand them when they said, "In so far as these questions can be regulated by the unaided efforts of the European nations." This in no way implied that the non-European nations, especially an allied nation like Japan, were not to be associated in the work. Moreover, Lord Robert Cecil would be able to emphasise that in his report, and the fact of their agreement would thus be put on record.

The speaker asked the Committee not to alter the text, in order not to destroy the unanimous nature of their agreement. He requested this with the more emphasis in that certain remarks which had been made by the representative of a neutral country—the speaker was in no way forgetting the obligations of a guest—forced him to say that no doubt could exist with regard to this text upon which the four Allied Delegations had agreed, and no one ought to try to introduce any ambiguity or alteration of the terms.

As Mr. Fisher had just said, they had been in agreement upon opinions and upon principles, but not yet upon methods. To-day they had been fortunate enough to reach agreement upon methods as regards the Allied Powers and thus to have tightened the Alliance, the ties of which sometimes appeared to be slackening. Not only had they realised full agreement between the Allies, but between the greater part of the neutrals. He therefore asked the Committee to do nothing to affect this unanimity, and he congratulated them on having taken the first step towards dissipating the nightmare which had weighed upon Europe and the shadow which had hidden the solidarity of mankind.

M. HONDA (Japan) took note of M. de Jouvenel's statement. The Japanese Delegation had proposed its amendment purely with the object of securing unanimity with regard to the proposal before the Committee. Under the present circumstances, the Japanese Representative could only associate himself wholeheartedly with the resolution; his country had rallied to its European Allies in order to secure the triumph of liberty and still worked with them with the object of achieving the great work undertaken by the League of Nations for disarmament and world peace.

COUNT TOSTI (Italy) withdrew his amendment.

M. MANOLESCO ROMNICEANO (Roumania) also withdrew his amendment, which he had only proposed because he wished it laid down that all States should co-operate in order that the treaties might be respected and put into force.

M. MOTTA (Switzerland) was convinced that M. de Jouvenel's words implied no discourtesy, and he would make no criticism in order that the fine, great and noble task undertaken by the French Delegate might not be made more difficult. He would merely affirm that his own words were in accordance with the general outlines observable in the speeches by representatives of the greater nations. He had neither twisted nor forced the meaning of anything; things spoke for themselves; *res ipsa loquitur*.

The discussion was declared closed.

M. de Jouvenel's proposal was adopted with the reservation that Lord Robert Cecil would draft a preamble which would in no way modify the scope of the proposal.

THE CHAIRMAN said it was a matter of great pride to him to have presided at this very important meeting, which proved that the calumnies against the League of Nations which had been spread throughout the world were false, and that the League was full of life. Its action was the best proof thereof.

APPENDIX IV.

Certain Speeches by the Indian Delegates in the Assembly.

ANNEX I.—Speech by Viscount Chelmsford in the Assembly, 19th September, on Opium.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, when some few weeks ago I accepted the invitation of the Government of India to come here as the First Delegate for India, I accepted it because I was ready and willing to serve India in any capacity in which it might be thought I might be useful; but I am bound frankly to confess that I came here a profound sceptic as to the value and utility of the League of Nations. A fortnight's acquaintance, however, with the working of the Assembly and of the Committees has made me hope that my scepticism was unwarranted.

I found, in the first place, an atmosphere of general goodwill and desire to co-operate which it would be almost impossible to conceive of unless one was living actually in the middle of it, and I believe it is almost equally difficult to convey to those who are outside the League what that atmosphere of goodwill and co-operation is.

I found, in the second place, the eminently practical handling of the subjects dealt with in the Assembly and in the Committees, a handling which gave the lie to the insinuations which are so often made outside, that the League of Nations lives and moves and has its being in an atmosphere of unpractical idealism.

I found, in the third place—at least I hope I have found in the third place—a sincere determination on the part of the countries which are Members of the League to accept the resolutions of the League and to carry them out effectively and sincerely. These, it seems to me, are the three conditions precedent to success in the work of the League.

Now let me apply these conditions precedent, as an acid test, to the work of the League in connection with the abuses of the drug traffic. May I remind you that this subject of the traffic in opium and noxious drugs is one of those which has been committed to the special charge of the League by Article 23 of the Covenant?

As to goodwill, I am sure that on this point we are all agreed—we who are Delegates to this Assembly—that these abuses must cease. Each one of us has had it brought home to him what the evils and the horrors of the system are, and scarcely a day passes without some miserable story being disclosed in the columns of our Press.

Coming to the second point, the practical handling of this question. I am sure that those who are interested in this subject will have admired the sane and sober manner in which the Advisory Committee on Opium has discussed this question, and the very practical methods which they have advised for adoption by us with reference to it.

It is only when I come to the third condition precedent, namely, the sincere determination of the countries who are Members of the League to carry out the resolutions of the League, that I must confess to some disappointment. Let me take, in the first place, The Hague Convention, which is the key of the whole situation. There are still many—too many—countries which have not yet adhered to this Convention. I was delighted to hear in the Report that the Delegate from Switzerland had announced that his Government and his Federal Council were taking this matter into their very grave consideration. I was also delighted to hear the Delegate from Persia say in the Committee that he had advised his Government to adhere to this Convention. I am sure we shall be more than delighted if by next year we find that the Persian Government has adopted the advice which has been given to them by their Delegation.

The corollary to The Hague Convention consists of that system of Importation Certificates which has been devised by the Advisory Committee on Opium. The explanation of that system has already been given to you and is contained on page 3 of the Report; and I shall not therefore weary you by reciting what that system is. I would remind you, however, that the system in question was unanimously approved last year by this Assembly, and I would ask you to look at the list of the States which have not yet signed or said that they would adopt it. Only one half, I believe, of the States who are Members of this League have signed that agreement, and even fewer have said that they were prepared to carry out its provisions, and this after the solemn approval by their Delegates in this Assembly of the proposals put before the Assembly last year.

I know that Governments are busy; I know that Governments sometimes do not understand; but surely it is our duty as Delegates to jog, in these matters, the memory of our Governments and to endeavour to explain where our Governments appear not to understand.

And behind the Delegate there is the admirable Secretariat of this League of Nations, which is always ready and willing to give the fullest information when information is asked for.

Co-operation, after all, is the essence of the campaign against this traffic, and I sincerely hope that before the meeting of the next Assembly the lists of the non-adherent States in these two matters will be greatly diminished, if not entirely wiped out.

But let me pass on. There is a very important extension proposed of the Certificate System. Delegates will find the proposal in the Report on page 3. This Assembly owes the origination of that suggestion to Professor Gilbert Murray, the representative of South Africa. The Committee, however, when he brought forward that proposal, wanted to be certain that they were on sure ground with regard to it, and so they have referred it, in view of its complicated and difficult nature, to the Advisory Committee, with the request to the Council that if they agree with the Advisory Committee, and that Committee approves of the proposal the Council will act without further reference to this Assembly.

I think the Assembly will judge of the very great importance of this proposal when I tell them that it will affect two-thirds of the available world supply of opium to non-producing countries. Therefore I look with very great hope to good results from this extension of the Import Certificate system, and I trust that if the Council agree to it there will be no delay over the adherence of the States to this and the other portion of the Import Certificate system.

There only is one other matter to which I would refer, and that is with reference to the statistics required of dangerous drugs. You will find that reference on page 4 of the Report. The Advisory Committee on Opium have informed us that they cannot really advise methods for control of this difficult traffic until they are supplied with adequate and accurate statistics from the various countries on questions of manufacture, import, export, distribution, and consumption. And I must remind this Assembly that the Council of the League have already asked for this information from the various countries which are Members of this League, but up till now only four countries have made the answer which was requested by the Council; they are Great Britain, Canada, France and Italy. And so it comes about that here we are in the Assembly again asking the countries which have sent us here that they will

provide the information without which this Advisory Committee says it cannot properly advise on the control of this terrible traffic.

I referred at the outset of my speech to three conditions precedent to the success of the work of the League of Nations. They may have appeared to some to be self-evident but can it be said, on the facts which I have put before the Assembly this morning, that it has been superfluous to refer to them? I have applied to this traffic the test of these conditions. In the case of the first two conditions, I think we may regard the answer to that test as favourable, but can anyone be satisfied with the results of the test in the case of the third condition? Take, for instance, The Hague Convention, the Import Certificate System, and the statistics asked for. In each of those cases only a fraction of these nations which sent us here have agreed to what we have asked them to agree to, or have furnished us with the information which we have asked for. Until you can get the co-operation of all the nations and all the countries which are Members of this League, which is the essence of the situation, you will not be able to deal with this terrible traffic. With it I am confident that we shall have success, but without it I fear we shall never remove from our midst the dangers, the horrors, the misery which are attendant on the abuses of this drug traffic.

ANNEX II.—Speech by H. H. the Maharajah Jam Sahib of Nawanagar in the Assembly, 19th September, on Opium.

Ladies and Gentlemen, my eminent colleague, the chief Delegate of India, in his tactful and eloquent speech yesterday, told us that he came here somewhat a doubter, but is now a convert. Whilst congratulating him and ourselves on this fact, may I testify to the truth of the statement that there is more joy in Geneva over one doubter who is converted than over ninety and nine satisfied souls who need no conversion.

I noticed in the Press this morning, and I was told by Viscount Chelmsford afterwards, that he is described in the local Press as a Hindoo. I take it therefore that his conversion is double and complete.

On the subject of opium I do not claim to be an expert, but it is precisely because I am not an expert that I request to be permitted to say a few words. I am an Indian, and India figures in the general mind as perhaps, *par excellence*, the opium-producing country. Ask an ordinary citizen of most Western nations the question, "Which are the opium-producing countries?" and it is long odds he will at once reply, "India and China." And I rather fancy that any ideas he might entertain about opium would be founded on the sweeping and easy belief that every Indian grows opium and every Chinaman smokes it.

Indeed, it is not too much to say that, outside the circles of expert knowledge, Western public opinion on opium sees nothing except "opium profits" and "opium dens." To the expert and to the well-informed this may appear absurd and even incredible, but it is none the less true enough to be called true.

Does any appreciable number of Western people even know how large a proportion of the opium produced is used by modern medical science in the composition of medicines essential to the best medical practice? I am not, of course, thinking of the ladies and gentlemen who come to this Assembly, and make history, but of the more numerous ladies and gentlemen who stay at home and merely make public opinion.

I wish the "Opium Question" could be called the "Opium Abuse Question." You know the proverb, "Give a dog a bad name and hang him." Well, men are hanged, not only by names, that are bad, but also by names that are not good.

It seems to me important that more people should realise that, in certain Eastern countries, including India, quite apart from any abuse of opium and quite apart from regular scientific medical use of it, there is a quite legitimate general and popular use of opium. Quite outside scientific medicine, opium has always been used in India by the people as a home-made medicine, just as various herbs and simples are even now used by the country folk of Western nations.

The aim of our attention to opium here is of course, the regulation of production and traffic, in order to minimise and eventually to eliminate the detrimental use of opium and of its derivative drugs. State laws and regulations which come to be initiated or come to be improved in consequence of our efforts are of capital importance, and their aim and tenure merit and receive universal acclamation among well-informed and intelligent people.

But I very respectfully suggest to you that it is quite important to recognise that there are — for instance, in India — a large number of people who, on the one hand, do not regard opium as a detrimental product, but as a natural product, and who, on the other hand, have suffered, and still suffer, considerable loss in consequence of State regulation of production. Intelligent opinion in India knows that State regulation of opium has involved a loss of revenue to the Government of about 40,000,000 in the last 10 years, and intelligent opinion is glad that this loss is much more than compensated by the great good that has been achieved. India applauds the result, and is proud to be privileged to make, in so worthy a cause, what it is fair to call a sacrifice. But even intelligent opinion sometimes overlooks the fact that

the loss to producers has been not 40 millions, but about 120 millions. Remember that India is per head of population, a poor country, and in particular the cultivators are poor, and they form the large majority of Indians in India. Much of the sacrifice falls on them—some of them are hard hit by it—and they do not appreciate, because they do not know, that they are sharing in the suppression of a grave abuse.

I may be wrong, but I do not think enough attention has been given to spreading among the people who bear the sacrifice such information as would enable them to understand that their loss is a great blessing for others. It is an old saying that laws without moral assent are vain; and moral assent much depends upon full information.

There is another point. Although India produces a large amount of opium, and consumes in the aggregate a large amount, India has a very large population, and is a very small consumer of opium per head per annum, especially when one remembers that opium may be regarded as the Indian parallel to wine and beer in Europe and America.

It may not generally be known, but I believe I am perfectly correct when I say that Indian soldiers after a long march regard a very small dose of opium in the same light as European soldiers regard a cup of tea or coffee or cocoa, or a glass of beer or wine. What is more important (and I do want to impress this upon your mind) is that medical practice gives its assent to such use being made of it. Then, again, the labouring classes in India, after a hard day's work, regard opium, just as a European workman regards tea or his beer. Then, again, old people in India take opium as a useful assistant to the disabilities of old age, just as in Europe old people take their native stimulants. I want to impress another thing upon you, that in India, which is a hot country, a sedative is essential. In Europe, which is a cold region, a stimulant is necessary for the blood. Beyond this, opium is not only scientifically but popularly used in India, and largely used it may be a surprise to all—as a veterinary medicine. India has many cattle—I think the number is 175,000,000 of cattle—and besides that there are any amount of camels and donkeys and horses. I believe the figure of the latter is about 5,000,000.

Now if you take the total annual consumption per head of population in India, what does it amount to? It amounts to two grammes per head per annum, and that is about the weight of about two-thirds of an ordinary lump of sugar. But when you take into account the veterinary use which is made of opium, I believe, even if you take the sum of opium which is taken by human beings as the same as that taken for cattle, which is not the case, it reduces the two-thirds of a lump of sugar to one-third. So you cannot rate India as an extravagant consumer of its native equivalent of Western liquors.

In this connection I may further add that no one would think of calling that great country, the United States of America, an opium-consuming country, and yet, no doubt for very legitimate and proper purposes, I am reliably told, and I believe it, it consumes about twice as much opium as India. Of course, my figures are, as we say here, globular, and that also reminds me that opium is not smoked in India, but is eaten in a globular form. However, my main point is to suggest to this Assembly that international and national regulation of opium should not leave out of account the importance of informing the people of India, who feel the incidence of such regulations.

Further (and I do want to emphasise this), India, while applauding the policy in question, would like to be assured that the loss to the innocent Indian cultivator does not mean gain to other countries.

I do not desire to challenge the statement of the honourable Delegate for China, because the contention that the neighbouring countries export opium to a large extent has been so far exploded by the Committee on Opium that I think it would be futile for me to attempt to do better than that Committee has done. Finally, I do desire to add this, that however desirable it may be, it is none the less difficult, when the economy of our daily lives is affected, and badly affected, for all of us to be philanthropists all the time.

ANNEX III.—*Speech by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer in the Assembly, 20th September, on Mandates.*

Ladies and Gentlemen, I come forward to support the resolution which has been moved by Dr. Nansen, and in doing so I wish to make a few brief observations on matters of general interest to the Assembly which have been suggested to me by a study of the reports of the mandatory Powers. I desire to associate myself with the tribute which has been paid to the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission for the admirable solicitude which they have displayed for the welfare of the populations committed to the charge of the mandatory Powers and for the scrupulous regard which they have shown for the letter and the spirit of Article 22 of the Covenant.

No question has escaped the watchful eye of the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission. It is satisfactory to learn from them that forced labour is wholly or practically unknown. It is interesting to find that the members of the Mandates Commission draw attention to the features attendant upon the system of indentured labour which has been

introduced into some of these territories. They call attention to the social dangers which are inseparable from a system of indentured labour. Explanations have been given by the Representative of New Zealand, but I am not certain that they are quite reassuring. One reason why the women in China are unwilling to come forward is said to be that they demand the same conditions of work and the same pay as the men. That, I think, is a demand which is reasonable enough and which, I think, we cannot complain of.

It is also said that the three years' indenture under which the labourers are imported allows too short a period for the Chinese labourer to learn the language or to associate with the natives of the country. I am afraid that these circumstances are not sufficient guarantee against the dangers which are only too likely to follow the exclusive importation of male labour.

We in India have had some experience of the dangers attendant upon the immigration of an exclusively male labouring population, and it has always been the endeavour of the Indian Government in the past to secure a due proportion between the sexes among the immigrants. I have no doubt that the Government of New Zealand, which has displayed so much solicitude for the welfare of the people committed to its charge, will realise the importance of this aspect of the question, and will see that a due proportion of the sexes is ensured among the labourers whom it recruits from China.

Another important question to engage the attention of the Commission is the subject of land tenure. There is no tendency more common among modern lawyers than to read back their conceptions into the past, or to extend them into the interpretation of the rights and usages of primitive communities. We have a tendency to imagine that unless rights of ownership are proved by the same or similar acts of exercise as we are accustomed to expect in civilised communities no such rights exist. That is a danger against which we have to be on our guard.

It is a matter for satisfaction that the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission have resolved to call for the land laws of the different territories committed to the charge of the Mandatories and to study this question further.

An extremely dubious claim has been put forward in the French mandated territory to what has been called the private domain in the State. I have no doubt that this matter will also receive the searching and careful consideration of the Permanent Mandates Commission in the next year.

Another important question which has engaged the attention of the Commission is the evils which have followed the demarcation of the boundary between Belgian East Africa and Tanganyika. The recommendations of the Commission are drawn up with a due regard to the susceptibilities of the Great Powers, and the resolution of Dr Nansen is also couched in extremely modest terms. Speaking for myself, I should have preferred to accord a more emphatic endorsement to the conclusions of the Permanent Mandates Commission. I should have preferred the language of the Marquis Imperiali when he recommended his draft resolution, in which he invites the Council to draw the attention of the Powers to the recommendations of the Permanent Mandates Commission. I should have liked to ask the Council to express its hope that the boundary between Tanganyika and Belgian East Africa may be so rectified as to avoid the dangers which have been pointed out by the members of the Commission.

But though the resolution of Dr Nansen, or rather of the Sixth Committee, has been couched in very modest terms, with a modesty which becomes us when we deal with the susceptibilities of the Great Powers, I hope that our modesty will be duly appreciated and that the Powers concerned will devote some consideration to the questions to which their attention has been drawn.

Before I proceed further I should like to associate myself with the acknowledgment which has been made by the members of the Mandates Commission of the services rendered by the representatives of Australia, of New Zealand, and of Japan to the Commission in their examination of the reports of these various mandatory Powers.

I should also like to pay a tribute to the solicitude for the well-being of the natives which has been displayed by those various mandatory Powers in their administration of the territories. When Sir Francis Bell made his remarks yesterday, I was wondering what there was in the report of the Mandates Commission which had offended his susceptibilities and called forth the note of warning which he thought it necessary to sound. I have re-examined the report of the Mandates Commission, but I have not been able to discover anything in that report which could have offended the susceptibilities of anyone. Far from criticising the administration, they extol the virtues and the merits of the New Zealand administration. I should have thought that the Permanent Mandates Commission would have been entitled to expect the thanks of the New Zealand administration, but it is a hard world and it is difficult to please everyone.

As regards the dangers which Sir Francis Bell has spoken of, I am unable to find any departure from the constitutional position which he so correctly laid down. I see no desire or

any intention to infringe upon the position or upon the principle which he laid down. The Permanent Mandates Commission has made its report only to the Council, as he says it ought to have done, and it is the Council which has submitted to us the reports of the Permanent Mandates Commission as annexes to its report. We are entitled, as Members of the Assembly, not merely to the opinions of the Council, but we are also entitled to be placed in possession of the material upon which the Council has formed its opinions. I have been unable to discover any impropriety or any desire on the part of the Mandates Commission or of the office of the Secretary-General, to depart from the strict canons of propriety.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is unfortunate that the South African Union should not have accorded its assistance to the Mandates Commission in the same way in which the other mandatory Powers accorded their assistance. It may have been due to circumstances over which they had no control or to indifference or unwillingness. At any rate, the attitude of the South African Union is open to misconstruction, and I venture to express the hope that when next year the reports have to be examined, the South African Union will be as able and willing as the other mandatory Powers to lend every aid in its power to the Mandates Commission.

It seems to me, however, that it is just possible there may be some misconception in the minds of the responsible statesmen of South Africa with regard to their obligations in this matter. I noticed that in a speech delivered by him some time in September 1920, General Smuts, the great South African statesman, uttered remarks which seem to me to be not quite reconcilable with the true position of mandated territories. He observed that the territories held under the "C" class mandates were practically annexed—that they were annexed all but in name to the territories of the administration of which they formed a part. It is quite possible that in this view the Premier of the South African Union may regard his obligations in respect of the mandated territories as of a purely temporary character, and it may be that in this view these obligations sit rather lightly upon him. But I venture to think, with all deference to that great statesman who himself was in no small measure responsible for the theory of mandates, that the territories held under the "C" class mandates cannot possibly be treated as annexed to the territories with which they are administered. The intention of Article 22 of the Covenant seems to me to be perfectly clear. All these territories which are dealt with under Article 22 are regarded as a sacred trust of civilisation and they are all to be administered as a trust estates, and it is only the method and the manner of the administration which varies in the "A" class, in the "B" class, and in the "C" class mandates. General Smuts seems to have relied upon the fact that in the mandates applicable to the "C" class territories they are to be administered as an integral part of the territories to which they are attached; but that expression is common both to the "C" class territories and to the "B" class territories. You find it in Article 9 of the mandate which applies to the "B" class territories, and you find it in Article 2 of the mandate which applies to the "C" class territories. General Smuts is prepared to admit that the position is different with regard to the "B" class territories. I submit it is exactly the same with regard to the "C" class territories as with regard to the "B" class territories. The trusteeship of these territories is all vested in the League of Nations, and once that trusteeship has been created the Council, which is what may be called the statutory organ of the League, is responsible ultimately for the welfare of these territories. It must be remembered that a mandate is in theory and in essence revocable. These "C" class territories are a separate legal entity, and all possess the indestructible potentiality of independent existence.

Article 22 of the Covenant marks a new era in the conception of white races as to their obligations to coloured races. The idea that coloured races have rights may not be a new one, but it is the first time that it has been mooted in a solemn document of first-rate international importance like the Covenant of the League of Nations, and it is the first time that safeguards and machinery have been provided for the fulfilment of the obligations implied in this conception. Whatever lip homage the idea may have commanded in the past, it is the first time that it has secured moral acceptance and real adhesion. The Commission observes that the prosperity and well-being of the aboriginal population is in inverse ratio to its contact with the colonisation of its former masters. The British member of the Commission said that in South Africa there was a most striking example of the destruction of the organisation of a native population by the invasion of a white civilisation.

I hope that these chapters in the history of the contact between the white and coloured races are closed for good, and that we shall be able to look forward to a reign of humanity and justice.

Even now we hear of the centre of gravity in international affairs being gradually shifted to the Far East and to the Pacific coast. But why? Let only the nations of the earth give up their earth hunger and their rivalry and cupidity for markets, and their desire to appropriate vast uninhabited continental spaces, we shall then be free from the chances of strife and conflict. It is only to the extent that we are able to conquer these cravings for land and for markets, and to the extent that we are able to conquer the vulgar though deep-seated prejudice of colour, that we shall be able to realise the ideals of humanity and justice, and then, and then only, will this Assembly become a real federation of the world and a lasting bond of peace.

ANNEX IV.—*Speech by His Highness the Maharajah Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, in the Assembly, 21st September, on Minorities.*

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, will you permit me to crave your indulgence for a few minutes on the subject of minorities.

A few days ago we listened with very appreciative attention to a speech on this question by Professor Gilbert Murray. No doubt your interest was stimulated by the personality of the distinguished Delegate of South Africa, who is the very man a Delegate to this Assembly should be, a wide minded politician, a great name in literature and scholarship, and a very great practical idealist. No doubt, too, the admirable form and matter of his speech attracted you. But I cannot help feeling, from the way in which you received his speech, that the sense of this Assembly itself is sympathetic to the questions as to minorities, and that it is alive, and very much alive, to their importance in the fabric of the new and better world which it is your aim and object to build and which you are building; it is your evident sympathy and alertness, where minorities are concerned, that encourages me to address you here to-day.

Professor Gilbert Murray very wisely and very rightly pointed out that the question of minorities is not merely a humanitarian question, but that it is also a political question, and he said that we must spread general contentment with the new distribution of Europe, or the new distribution of Europe will not endure.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, there are minority questions outside Europe, and the political order outside Europe, in other continents, even, where distributions are of older standing, will not be happy, will not be contented, will not be completely stable as you would have them while any open sores remain unhealed. Africa, for example, does not always produce novelties—even, I am glad to say, in the case of her Delegations to this Assembly. Africa sometimes reproduces what is very well known in Europe. In short, we Indians have what are to us insistent and irritating minority questions in Africa. I have every hope that at least one African minority question will soon be satisfactorily settled on a proper and just appreciation of its merits by the British Government.

So I will confine myself to the outstanding questions of the minorities which are under the South African Government. I refer, therefore, to the position of the Indian communities in South Africa under that Government. These are genuine minority questions which are of somewhat long standing; and my purpose is not at all to bring before you the cases specifically, which perhaps would not be in order. But I have a very distinct purpose, and it is to appeal—and you may regard it as a personal appeal if you wish—to the Delegates of South Africa here present; and, by the very token that they are the declared champions of the rights of minorities, to ask them to influence their Government, when they return home in favour of satisfactory settlements of these particular minority questions, which are their very own. I address my appeal to them through you all, because I feel very strongly that the atmosphere of sympathy and good feeling with which this great Assembly cannot fail to endow such an appeal, will give that appeal a vivid human power such as it could not obtain elsewhere. I want the spirit of the League of Nations, which is incarnate in this Assembly, to grant my appeal its aid. I should feel false to my fellow-countrymen in India, and also to my fellow-countrymen in South Africa, were I to neglect this unique opportunity of summoning to the assistance of their aspirations the spiritual power and the spiritual blessing of your sympathy.

Remember, Ladies and Gentlemen, this is not a matter which concerns merely my nationals in South Africa alone. Their interest is immediate to them, and they may be mere thousands; but there also is a strong fellow-feeling in the hearts of many millions of Indians in India itself. These matters are, therefore, not merely causes of discontent locally in South Africa; they are causes of discontent all over India in a population approaching one-fifth of the human race. But more than this, if the present distinguished Delegates of South Africa can induce their Government to settle these questions happily (I know, of course, there are difficulties, as there always are), not only would one house be set in order, but *three* houses would be set in order.

We of the British Empire are a big family. The British mother has taken to her bosom the grizzly bear, the kangaroo, the lion and the ostrich, the tiger and the kiwi, and with a family of that description quarrels are bound to occur. South Africa would be more contented and more united; the Government of the British Empire would be relieved of a troublesome political reference, and India would be deeply grateful and would feel that an old wound had at last been healed. But happily there is one cardinal virtue in the British Empire, that is when we are attacked by a common foe we are one really happy family and the elements I have alluded to all unite together in the defence of the Empire.

statesman of great experience and wide outlook, and Professor Murray, the knight-errant of minorities: when I remember that the present Prime Minister of South Africa, an exact contemporary of mine at Cambridge University—on whom Lord Robert Cecil passed worthy eulogy yesterday, and I may say I whole-heartedly associate myself with that tribute of high praise—is not only a foremost supporter of the League of Nations, but has himself in the past suffered experiences which must render him peculiarly appreciative of how poignantly a minority may resent its position; when I am sustained by the atmosphere and spirit of this Assembly, I cannot believe that these minority questions will remain long in their present unsatisfactory state, despite all the difficulties of amendment.

The chief Delegate of India, Viscount Chelmsford, who took such a leading share in the recent political reforms in India, could have addressed you on this subject with greater knowledge and certainty and with superior force of eloquence, but owing to the fact that he would have been burdened with an acquaintance with the many delicate and confidential details of the case, which he could not put out of his mind and yet could not properly put before this Assembly, the task has fallen to my lot. Lord Chelmsford during his great vice-royalty, which saw what are truly epoch-making changes in the constitution, was staunch in upholding the status of my countrymen all over the world. I sincerely hope that some Delegate for India next year, here on this very platform of international amity, goodwill, and universal fraternity, may be able to thank the representatives of Great Britain and South Africa for a final satisfaction of the just aspirations of the Indians of South Africa and of Kenya Colony.

We, in this Assembly, believe that one God made all men to walk erect on one earth; and we believe in one truth and one justice, universal for all men, and it is to this atmosphere and to this faith I make my appeal. But outside this Assembly there have often been two justices, one for the West and one for the East. It is for the League of Nations to engraft its own conception, the far higher the far better conception, upon the universal practice of mankind. What is our ideal? What is our purpose? What is the very reason of our being?

Let us have catholic justice and we shall have catholic peace.

ANNEX V.—*Speech by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawanagar, in the Assembly, 29th September, on Intellectual Co-operation.*

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will try and take up as little of your time as possible because I know that every one of us intends to leave to-morrow and we have got plenty of work still to do. I am sure no one who listened yesterday to the eloquent, beautiful and elevating speeches of M. de Jouvenel and Professor Gilbert Murray could fail to be deeply impressed by their presentation of the necessity of providing adequately for the work of Intellectual Co-operation. In Committee No. IV, India opposed any reduction of the appropriation for this purpose, and here in the Assembly I desire most emphatically to support the amendment* proposed by the honourable Delegate of France. I am reluctant to believe that Committee No. IV fully realised what it was doing when it reduced this vote. The idea that the work of Intellectual Co-operation is vague and unpractical, I submit, is absolutely fallacious. Nothing at this moment has greater practical importance than the reconstruction of moral and intellectual values. They are the values on which the salvation of the world depends, the only sure and safe way by which we can pass to a new and better world. If we neglect this way we are courting sure and certain suicide. In any case the League of Nations have taken up this work, and it is absolutely absurd, nay almost futile, to do so at all unless we do it well.

Ladies and Gentlemen, may I submit this point? Does it help a naked man in cold and stormy weather to walk abroad if you give him a coat and even a waistcoat, but refuse him his nether garments? As I said before, you must do this thing well, or not at all. Let me illustrate my point in another way. I see before me here an army of delegates representing 46 nations. You engage, nay almost invite a guide to lead you through the wilderness to the promised land, and then what do you do? You start by putting out the eyes of the guide. But there is another and even stronger point. Is not the honour of the League of Nations at stake in this instance? We have invited some of the greatest of living men to take up this work, men like Professor Bergson, whose names will be familiar to our children's children. We invited them to do this work. Are we to figure before the world as refusing them adequate financial support in the very task which we ourselves have imposed on them? Surely we cannot do this. I go so far as to suggest to you and very respectfully to urge that whatever else we do we must not refuse to stand by the work of Intellectual Co-operation. The work is vital, the very essence of Bolshevik attack on the existing order is an attack on intellect. Its special instrument of death, its very symbol, is a hammer that beats out the brain.

In financial matters here no nation has stood up more consistently, more strenuously, for economy than India. We have fought hard for economy, and I do so now, for I maintain it is not economy to starve the work of Intellectual Co-operation. It is folly, and you cannot afford to do it.

* Motion for an increase of 50,000 francs to be allotted to the organisation of Intellectual Co-operation

APPENDIX V.

Speech by Viscount Chelmsford to the Council on the claim of India to be included among the Eight States of Chief Industrial Importance, with reference to Article 393 of the Treaty of Versailles.

In the first place, I desire to thank the Council for its courtesy in allowing me to represent India's case before it to-day. I crave the indulgence of the Council while I develop that case, because I am conscious that the Council might have thought it sufficient for me to have presented on behalf of India a memorandum in regard to this question; but India feels so very deeply on the matter that I felt bound to ask for permission to speak.

In 1919 this matter was decided by the Organising Committee of the Washington Conference, and India suffered a very grave disappointment on that occasion. I happened at the time to be Viceroy of India, and I can very well recollect the strong feeling of disappointment expressed by India when that decision was taken. India, however, showed no pique or resentment in the matter and when the Washington resolutions were transmitted to the various Governments, India, I believe, was the first country to pass those resolutions into statutory enactments.

India has also, apart from its disappointment over the decision at Washington, been somewhat bewildered by the attitude of the League towards her claims. Two Committees appointed by the Council have been considering questions concerning India, one to consider her capacity to pay towards the expenses of the League, and the other to consider India's status as a country of industrial importance. When it was a question of paying her share towards the expenses of the League, India's population was a large factor in proving India's capacity to pay. When it is a question of the industrial importance of India, India finds that her total population, through the use of the relative criteria, is used to water down the figures of her industrial population.

I need not remind the Council of the way in which this question has come before it, as this has already been described in the report of Viscount Ishii which has just been read, and in the other papers before the Council. I wish to speak now of the report of the Committee to which this matter was referred, and I should like to say at once that I appreciate to the full the skill and industry which has been displayed in that report. I may say emphatically, however, on behalf of India, that I am bound to differ most fundamentally from the principles which have been adopted by those who investigated this matter. In the memorandum from the Indian Delegates which is before the Council (Annex 420A), India has already subjected the Committee's report to a very searching criticism, and I shall not repeat to-day the arguments which are contained in that memorandum. It may be asked, "What constructive proposal have you to make in place of those contained in the report which your memorandum has purported to destroy?" I suggest that the Committee which investigated this matter need have gone no further than the Preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty of Peace, and I will ask the Council to allow me to read the Preamble and Article 387 which follows it, because it is upon that Preamble that I shall base India's substantive case to-day:—

"And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required: as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures;

"Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries

"Article 387. A permanent organisation is hereby established for the promotion of the objects set forth in the Preamble."

I think it is clear from these words that the human element should be the chief concern of the International Labour Office, and therefore it is the human factor which must be of paramount importance in deciding what constitutes a State of chief industrial importance. If population alone were to count, India's claim would, I contend, be indisputable. There are, however, two objections which might be urged to this. It might be said that the ratio of the wage-earning population to the total population must be taken into consideration. Why? This is one of the criteria appearing in the report of the Committee, but surely the wage-earning industrial population does not cease to have a claim because it lives side by side with a large number of people with whom the International Labour Office is not concerned? There is a second objection which may be urged, namely, that the trade union organisation of India

is rudimentary. There is no mention of any such condition in the Preamble to Part XIII of the Peace Treaty. Further, I would urge very strongly that for this very reason it is necessary for the International Labour Office to encourage India to perfect its industrial organisation. Consider how useful it would be for the Labour Office, when it is examining the case of backward populations in connection with industries, if it had to help and to guide it a representative of India who was thoroughly conversant with the conditions of the industrial population of that country. Again, India is not reactionary in this matter. I beg to repeat that India was probably the first, or one of the first, countries to convert the resolutions of the Washington Conference into statutory form. I shall not dwell on the question of the population, since in paragraph 7 of the memorandum from the Indian Delegation the whole of our argument on population is fully developed. I should like to say, however, that whatever figures are taken, whether M. Gini's or our own, and whatever reasonable deductions are made from those figures, the figure of the wage-earning industrial population of India must still remain decisive if the human factor is given the importance indicated by the Treaty.

I pass now to the other criteria which are mentioned in the report of the Committee—railways and horse-power. India is not afraid of being tested by any of these criteria. As regards railways, it appears as third among the list of nations. As regards horse power it appears as ninth. Why should the development of maritime tonnage be regarded as a criterion? If it is a criterion at all it is a criterion of commercial and not of industrial importance; and even here, if the human factor is taken into consideration, India has 141,000 maritime workers as lascars on British ships, on Indian ships and on ships of other nations. This fact should surely appeal to the Council, if the human factor is taken into account.

Let me make a concrete test of the value of this criterion. I suppose the United States of America before the war, if this test were applied—I mean the test of its development of mercantile tonnage—would not have ranked as a great industrial State at all. Surely, this deduction, as a result of the application of this test, is to prove it, as Euclid says, as absurd. Why not take trade as some indication of the industrial position? When it was a question of India's capacity to pay, the League itself included this criterion in the table designed to settle India's contribution. From the trade figures of 1913, India was ranked fifth; from the figures for 1919 India was ranked third. These figures are taken from Table 2 in the memorandum by the Secretary-General on the Allocation of the Expenses of the League of Nations.

I pass over the relative criteria which are dealt with in paragraph 4 of the memorandum from the Indian Delegation. I feel sure that anyone who reads paragraph 4 of that memorandum will realise that it has fully met the arguments in the corresponding part of the Committee's report. Similarly, I will pass over the weighting method adopted by the Committee; this would have been unnecessary had it not been for the adoption of the unsound principle of relative criteria.

I proceed now to develop India's substantive claim. I am most anxious to be as concise as possible, and therefore, if the Council will allow it, I will read the last paragraph of our memorandum, because it states that substantive claim as concisely as possible:—

“It remains to justify India's specific claim to inclusion among the eight States of chief industrial importance. India does not ask that her precise position among these eight States should be determined; the difficulties and dangers of attempts at a precise evaluation of merits in such matters are sufficiently obvious from the preceding paragraphs of this note. Her claim is based on broad general grounds, and does not need elaborate statistical methods to justify it. She has an industrial wage-earning population which may be estimated at roughly 20 millions, and in addition a large wage-earning class employed in agricultural work, details of which are given in paragraph 7 above. Whatever deductions may be suggested from these figures, the outstanding and indisputable fact remains that, consistently with the clear intention of the Treaty, the resulting figure will still be so large that India's position as one of the chief industrial States must be recognised. Even if for the moment we accept M. Gini's figures it may be seen that we obtain the following striking tables of the 12 States with the largest industrial population—

(1) United Kingdom	13,000,000	(7) Czechoslovakia	2,500,000
(2) Germany	12,000,000	(8) Poland	2,100,000
(3) France	8,000,000	(9) Belgium	1,800,000
(4) India	8,000,000	(10) Spain	1,300,000
(5) Italy	5,500,000	(11) Canada	1,350,000
(6) Japan	5,000,000	(12) Switzerland	1,000,000

“These, and no others, have an industrial population of 1,000,000 and over. There is a drop of 50 per cent. between the sixth and seventh States in the list, and no system of weighted adjustments can properly be used to exclude the first six from a list of the eight States of chief industrial importance from the point of view of the Labour

Covenant. At the same time, India's claim does not rest solely on a population basis. India has a railway mileage practically identical with that of France, greater than that of Germany, and markedly greater than that of the United Kingdom; her maritime workers (141,000) outnumber those of any other member of the Labour Organisation except the United Kingdom; she is one of the large world producers of oil and manganese; her cotton industry is markedly more important than the cotton industries of Italy, Belgium, or Japan; her jute industry has no parallel, and her mills supply the world with packing materials; her coal output is very close to that of Belgium, and only slightly inferior to that of Japan. In the Committee's table of absolute unweighted criteria, India stands fourth although the population figure on which that table is based has been shown to be very seriously underestimated."

As practical evidence of India's industrial position, let me remind the Council very briefly of the part she played in the war. In doing so, I am making no appeal to emotion, but merely giving proof that what she did could only have been done by a great industrial State. As regards the mining industry it was her coal that largely equipped all the shipping of the East. Her wolfram, manganese, mica, and saltpetre industries were indispensable to the Allies. It is scarcely possible to conceive how the Allies would have fared without her jute and jute products. Her cotton and woollen industries to a large extent supplied the needs of the British and some of the Allied forces. Her hide industries supplied boots for the Italian and English Governments. The iron and steel industries of India supplied the bulk of the rails used in Palestine, East Africa and Mesopotamia. India served as a base for food supplies for all the campaigns in the East.

I have almost hesitated to place these facts before the Council because it might appear that I was attempting to prove too much. India, however, is a long way off and she is scarcely known even in Great Britain. I have been there five years as Viceroy, and therefore am speaking of what I know. If any member of the Council would care to assure himself that what I have said is strictly accurate, there is a book in the Library here from which I have taken these figures, namely, "The Moral and Material Progress Report for India, 1917-18."

APPENDIX VI.

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